
TRANSGRESSING BOUNDARIES:
A HISTORY OF THE MIXED DESCENT
FAMILIES OF MAITAPAPA, TAIERI,
1830-1940

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a micro-study of intermarriage at the small Kāi Tahu community of Maitapapa from 1830 to 1940. Maitapapa is located on the northern bank of the Taieri River, 25 kilometres south of Dunedin, in Otago. It was at Moturata Island, located at the mouth of the Taieri River, that a whaling station was established in 1839. The establishment of this station initiated changes to the economy and settlement patterns, and saw the beginning of intermarriage between ‘full-blood’ women and Pākehā men. From 1848, Otago was colonized by British settlers and in the process ushered in a new phase of intermarriage where single white men married the ‘half-caste’ and ‘quarter-caste’ daughters of whalers. In short, in the early years of settlement intermarriage was a gendered ‘contact zone’ from which a mixed descent population developed at Taieri. The thesis traces the history of the mixed descent families and the Maitapapa community throughout the nineteenth century until the kāika physically disintegrated in the 1920s. It argues that the creation of a largely ‘quarter-caste’ population at Maitapapa by 1891 illustrates the high rate of intermarriage at this settlement in contrast to other Kāi Tahu kāika in the South Island. While the population was ‘quarter-caste’ in ‘blood’, the families articulated an identity that was both Kāi Tahu and mixed descent. From 1916, the community underwent both physical and cultural disintegration. This disintegration was rapid and complete by 1926. The thesis demonstrates that while land alienation, poverty, poor health and a subsistence economy characterized the lives of the mixed descent families at Maitapapa in the nineteenth century, it was a long history of intermarriage begun in the 1830s and continued throughout the nineteenth century which was the decisive factor in wholesale migrations post World War One. Education, dress and physical appearance alongside social achievements assisted in the integration of persons of mixed descent into mainstream society. While Kāi Tahu initially welcomed intermarriage as a way of integrating newcomers of a different culture such as whalers into a community, the sustained pattern of intermarriage at Maitapapa brought with it social and cultural change in the form of outward migration and eventual cultural loss by 1940.

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ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AJHR</i>	<i>Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives</i>
ANZ-C	Archives New Zealand, Christchurch Office
ANZ-D	Archives New Zealand, Dunedin Office
ANZ-W	Archives New Zealand, Wellington Office
BDM	Births, Deaths and Marriages, Wellington
ATL	Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington
CM	Canterbury Museum, Documentary Centre, Christchurch
CPL	Christchurch Public Library, Christchurch
DPL	McNab Room, Dunedin Public Library, Dunedin
<i>GBPP</i>	<i>Great Britain Parliamentary Papers</i>
HL	Hocken Library, Dunedin
LINZ	Land Information New Zealand
LINZ-D	Land Information New Zealand, Dunedin Office
MBL	Macmillan Brown Library, University of Canterbury, Christchurch
MHR	Member of the House of Representatives
MLC	Maori Land Court, Te Waipounamu Office, Christchurch
NTMTB	Ngāi Tahu Maori Trust Board
<i>NZPD</i>	<i>New Zealand Parliamentary Debates</i>
OSM	Otago Settlers' Museum, Dunedin
RNZ	New Zealand Railways
SILNA	South Island Landless Natives Act
SIMB	South Island Maori Land Court Minute Book
Tb	Tuberculosis

NOTE ON DIALECT

The dialect style used in this thesis follows the Kāi Tahu style where the ‘ng’ sound is replaced by the ‘k’ as in Kāi Tahu rather than Ngāi Tahu. The term Ngāi Tahu has been used only where it is in official use or is the general accepted term.

GLOSSARY

Ahi Kā	Occupation rights
Hāngi	Earth oven
Hapū	Tribe, sub-tribe
Harakeke	Flax
Hāwhe-kaihe	‘half-caste’
Heitiki	Greenstone pendant
Hui	Gathering
Inaka	Whitebait
Iwi	Tribe
Kāika	Village
Kanakana	Lamprey
Kaumātua	Elder
Kāuru	Food made from cabbage tree
Mahika Kai	Cultivations, food resources
Mōkihi	Raft
Murihiku	Southland
Nohoaka	Seasonal food gathering/camping site
Pā	Defended site of occupation
Pākehā	European
Pātiki	Flounder
Rakiura	Stewart Island
Rohe	Territory or boundary
Rūnaka	Council or committee
Taniwha	Mythological water monster
Taoka	Treasured property
Te Waipounamu	The South Island
Tikanga	Custom
Tī kōuka	Cabbage tree
Titi	Muttonbird
Tohuka	Expert/Priest
Tuna	Eels
Tūpuna	Ancestors
Umu-ti	Ovens used to make kāuru from tī kōuka
Upoko	Leading man of a hapū
Urupā	Cemetery or burial ground
Wāhi tapu	Cemetery or reserved ground
Waiata	Song
Waka	Canoe
Whakapapa	Genealogy
Whānau	Family
Whāngai	Adoption, to care for or foster
Whare	House

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INTRODUCTION

In the early 1820s, Kāi Tahu woman Te Wharerimu, entered into a relationship with Robert Brown, thought to be a sealer and captain of the ship *Glory*. They settled at Whenua Hou/Codfish Island, situated near Rakiura/Stewart Island, considered by scholars to be one of the earliest mixed settlements in New Zealand.¹ Between 1825 and 1840, Wharerimu and Robert Brown had five children. Their first son Tame/Thomas, was claimed as the first ‘half-caste’ child born in southern New Zealand;² their daughter Kararaina/Caroline, married the whaler John Howell of Riverton at the age of thirteen; Tera/Sarah married the Tasmanian-born whaler Ned Palmer; Peti/Elizabeth married Tame Parata, the future Member of the House of Representatives (MHR) for Southern Māori; and Pāpu/Robert married Tini Pāma/Jane Palmer, the ‘half-caste’ daughter of Irihāpeti Patahi and Edward Palmer, whaler, and uncle of Ned.

My tupuna, Jane Palmer and Robert Brown, married at Waikouaiti in 1847, and from 1851 were recorded by the Reverend Thomas Burns as residents at Maitapapa, the ‘Māori Village’, at lower Taieri.³ Between 1846 and 1872, Jane and Robert had eleven children. In 1886, their daughter Beatrice married James Smith, the ‘quarter-caste’ son of Mere Kui and James Smith, settler, and grandson of the whaler William Palmer. Beatrice and James’ daughter Catherine Mabel Victoria Smith married Teone Wiwi Paraone in 1900 at Mosgiel. Teone, also known as John Brown, was the ‘half-caste’ son of Tuti/Elizabeth Brown and Tiaki Kona/Jack Conner. Both John and Catherine were born at Maitapapa/Henley, lower Taieri. There are other similarities in their personal histories. They were both illegitimate, born to women

¹ Basil Howard, *Rakiura: a history of Stewart Island, New Zealand*, (Dunedin, Reed, 1940). Atholl Anderson, *Race against time: the early Maori-Pakeha families and the development of the mixed-race population in southern New Zealand*, (Dunedin, Hocken Library, 1991). Peter Entwisle, *Behold the Moon: The European Occupation of the Dunedin District, 1770-1848*, (Dunedin, Port Daniel Press, 1998), p. 64.

² Ibid.

³ The Visitation Book of Reverend Thomas Burns [1848-1858], 13 January 1851, p. 66, (OSM).

who were aged fourteen at their birth in 1878 and 1882 respectively, and both were whāngai or fostered. Catherine was raised by her grandparents Robert and Jane at Maitapapa, and as a result was known as Mabel Brown, while John was raised by his aunt, Reita/Eliza Koruarua at the Kāi Tahu kāika/village of Taumutu, near Te Waihora/Lake Ellesmere in Canterbury. After their marriage, Catherine and John moved to Taumutu where they had a family of ten children, the last of whom was my grandmother, Waitai Brown.

This very brief history of my family exemplifies the general pattern of intermarriage, settlement and migration experienced by the Kāi Tahu and mixed descent families of Taieri who are the subject of this thesis, from the 1830s to the eventual physical disintegration of the kāika in the 1920s. Families that moved away from the Taieri, like my great grandparents Catherine and John, remained linked to Maitapapa through kinship ties, regularly travelled south for family occasions and at times, remained there for short periods. This pattern of mobility was typical of many Kāi Tahu families in the early twentieth century, when the process of urbanization saw the emptying of kāika in favour of the employment opportunities offered in the cities.

This thesis examines the social and cultural impact of intermarriage at the small Kāi Tahu community of Maitapapa, Taieri, in the Otago region of the South Island of New Zealand. Maitapapa was chosen as the focus of study because it was where my great-grandparents, both of mixed descent, were born in 1878 and 1882 respectively. Maitapapa is significant because it experienced a high rate of intermarriage, differentiating it from numerous other Kāi Tahu kāika both in Otago and more widely within the Kāi Tahu rohe/territory. As a result, the Kāi Tahu family names of the Taieri are overwhelmingly of British origin and reflect the long history of culture contact in the region. Pāma/Palmer, Paraone/Brown, Overton, Wellman, Garth, Drummond, Crane, Smith, Crossan, Stevenson, Robertson, Robinson, Gibb, Milward, Matene/Martin, Williams, Low, Bryant, Sinclair, Tanner, Campbell and Sherburd, are just some of the families of Kāi Tahu descent that lived at the Taieri

kāika and the surrounding districts throughout the period under study in this thesis. At Maitapapa personal stories reveal, impinge upon and interact with national events and imaginings but more specifically, relate a less visible local and national history of intermarriage.

Maitapapa, more commonly known as Henley, is located on the southern Taieri Plain. More specifically, this small Kāi Tahu settlement is situated on the northern bank of the Taieri River at the entrance of the lower Taieri Gorge where the Waipori and Taieri Rivers converge and feed into the sea. This river system includes Lake Waihola, Lake Waipori and Lake Tatawai. Maitapapa was one of the few inland sites of Kāi Tahu settlement and forms part of the Taieri Native Reserve, an area of 2310 acres set aside under the New Zealand Company's Otago Purchase in 1844. Kāi Tahu occupation at the Taieri, pre-British settlement, was located at the mouth of the river, at Maitapapa, on the hill behind Maitapapa/Henley, and on the shores of Lake Waihola. However, it was not until the late 1830s, with the arrival of whalers at Moturata Island, opposite Taieri Mouth, and the establishment of Dunedin from 1848, that a more permanent form of Kāi Tahu settlement arose to take advantage of these greater trading opportunities. The secondary literature on Taieri and in particular, Maitapapa, is minimal, and settler-orientated in its focus.⁴ Indeed, G. F. Davis wrote in 1974 that, "no major work has yet been attempted which links European settlement in this local area with effects on the resident native population."⁵ Thirty years later, little has changed.

This thesis examines the 'contact zone' of intermarriage exemplified by the history of this small Kāi Tahu community at Maitapapa as an expression of the larger processes of social and cultural change. It does so by exploring the history of the Kāi

⁴ Thelma Smith, *Tai-ari Ferry and Henley "Our Native Place"*, (Dunedin, Otago Daily Times and Witness Newspapers, 1941). Margaret S. Shaw, *The Taieri Plain: Tales of the Years that are Gone*, (Dunedin, Otago Centennial Historical Publications, 1949). Gwen Sutherland, *Coast, Road and River: The Story of Taieri Mouth, Taieri Beach, Glenledi and Akatore* (Clutha Leader Print, 1962). Daphne Lemon, *More Taieri Buildings*, (Dunedin, John McIndoe, 1972). Win Parkes and Kath Hislop, *Taieri Mouth and its Surrounding Districts*, (Dunedin, Otago Heritage Books, 1980). Ronald J. Stuart, *Henley, Taieri Ferry and Otokia: A Schools and District History*, (Outram, Reunion Committee, 1981).

⁵ G. F. Davis, "Old Identities and New Iniquities: The Taieri Plain in Otago Province, 1770-1870", (MA, University of Otago, 1974), p. ii.

Tahu and mixed descent families of Maitapapa in terms of what Mary Louise Pratt terms ‘transculturation’. Transculturation, originally an anthropological term, has been utilized by Pratt to refer to the range of outcomes that develop from the clash of cultures in the ‘contact zone.’ For Pratt ‘contact zones’ constitute the social space where groups “meet, clash, and grapple with each other”, which underpin a process of cultural change.⁶ This thesis takes Pratt’s ‘contact zones’ further, by extending her primarily literary and linguistic use of the term to include, as Dianne Newell⁷ does in Canada, labour relations, economics and settlement, as well as intermarriage. In short, the thesis is concerned with challenging traditional categories and understandings of identity, by offering an opportunity to rethink, revise and extend ideas about hybridity and identity in the context of a local community that has undergone rapid social and cultural change.⁸

Intermarriage as it was experienced at Maitapapa was a highly gendered ‘contact zone’. Ian Campbell argues that beachcombers, the earliest westerners who came into contact with Pacific Islanders, and other people “of this kind have received scant attention from historians.”⁹ Just as Campbell claims that beachcombers are a marginalized group in culture contact history, Trevor Bentley argues for a similar position of the ‘Pakeha-Maori’, those men who as convicts, traders, sealers and whalers, entered into economic, political and sexual unions with Māori women between 1799 and 1840. These men, argues Bentley, are a significant but marginalized group in New Zealand’s history because they occupy an intermediary space in our race relations history and yet have no such similar place in our written

⁶ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, (London and New York, Routledge, 1992), p. 4.

⁷ Dianne Newell, *Tangled Webs of History: Indians and the law in Canada's Pacific Coast fisheries*, (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1993). Dianne Newell, “Contact at the Rough Edge of the World: Continental vs. Island Centred Perspectives of the Pacific Margins in the Age of Industry”, Paper presented to the New Zealand Historical Association Conference, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, 1 December 2001.

⁸ For the Canadian context see Katie Pickles and Myra Rutherdale (eds.), *Contact Zones: Aboriginal and Settler Women in the Canadian Colonial Past*, (forthcoming, UBC Press, 2005).

⁹ I. C. Campbell, “Gone Native” In *Polynesia: Captivity Narratives and Experiences from the South Pacific*, (Connecticut, Greenwood Press, 1998), p. 5.

histories.¹⁰ However, I argue that it is the indigenous women whom these transient men entered into relationships with who are invisible in the historiography.

The historiography of intermarriage in New Zealand has largely ignored or marginalized the stories of indigenous women. In *Race against time*, the only study to undertake a general survey of intermarriage in the South Island from the late eighteenth to the early nineteenth centuries, Atholl Anderson found that 140 men, the majority white, founded mixed descent families in the south. The difficulty of accessing the histories of the Kāi Tahu women who married sealers and whalers has been commented on by Anderson who found: “In most cases there has been far too little research on whakapapa to say anything more about the families or settlements from which these women came, but we can bring some evidence to bear on the question of status.”¹¹ Anderson discovered that the Kāi Tahu women who married sealers and whalers were of a particular background. The first cases of intermarriage in southern New Zealand involved women who were daughters or nieces of chiefs, as well as a second tier of women who had good kinship connections. The history of intermarriage at Maitapapa from 1830 to 1940, reconstructed through whakapapa as well as oral and family histories enable the agency and narratives of Kāi Tahu and mixed descent women to be examined.

There is a general trend in the New Zealand literature of constructing intermarriage as a form of trade and exchange, denying Māori women any agency in the process. Paul Monin’s major concern is with the trajectory of the process of culture contact and colonization in one region, but the role of intermarriage in this is underdeveloped. In Hauraki interracial relationships were part of the landscape of culture contact from the 1830s. Monin refers to these relationships as the ‘my Pakeha’ phenomenon whereby marriage brought these men into the hapū, giving Hauraki Māori some measure of control over them, socially and economically.¹² While

¹⁰ Trevor Bentley, *Pakeha Maori: The extraordinary story of the Europeans who lived as Maori in early New Zealand*, (Auckland, Penguin, 1999), p. 11.

¹¹ Anderson, 1991, p. 7.

¹² Paul Monin, *This Is My Place: Hauraki Contested, 1769-1869*, (Wellington, Bridget Williams Books, 2001), p. 92.

Michael King characterizes the relationship between Māori communities and sealers and whalers as one of exchange and interaction with mutual benefits for each, the role of Māori women is accorded little attention.¹³ James Belich perceives the role of Māori women in the sealing and whaling era as part of the ‘sex industry’, which formed a basis of trade.¹⁴ This positioning of an inextricable link between sexual opportunity and imperial expansion is not new, having been proposed by Ronald Hyam in the 1980s. While Hyam centred sex and sexuality as key aspects of empire and colonization and underscored how sexual relationships “soldered together the invisible bonds of empire,” he did so by centring white men.¹⁵ The present study of Maitapapa by contrast, reveals that intermarriage involved a host of relationships ranging from brief encounters to meaningful marriages. Marriage is a complex social process and the study of intermarriage at one small Kāi Tahu community offers one solution to what has been identified by Barbara Brookes and Margaret Tennant as the “need to acknowledge Maori women’s agency in cultural encounters.”¹⁶

The approach taken in this thesis is feminist, as it brings together the analytical tools of gender and ‘race’, something which has rarely been achieved in New Zealand scholarship.¹⁷ Barbara Brookes and Margaret Tennant’s essay in *Women and History 2* and *The Book of New Zealand Women* by Charlotte Macdonald, Merimeri Penfold and Bridget Williams, have attempted to bridge the lack of dialogue between Māori women’s history and that of the wider scholarship on New Zealand women.¹⁸ A survey of Māori women’s history reveals that biography dominates, often because this

¹³ Michael King, *The Penguin History of New Zealand*, (Auckland, Penguin, 1993), pp. 122-123.

¹⁴ James Belich, *Making Peoples: A History of the New Zealanders from Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century*, (Auckland, Penguin, 1996), pp. 152-153.

¹⁵ Ronald Hyam, *Empire and Sexuality: The British Experience*, (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1990), p. 2 and Ronald Hyam, “Empire and Sexual Opportunity,” *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 14, 2, 1986, pp. 34-90.

¹⁶ Barbara Brookes and Margaret Tennant, “Maori and Pakeha Women: Many Histories, Divergent Pasts?” in Barbara Brookes, Charlotte Macdonald and Margaret Tennant, *Women in History 2*, (Wellington, Bridget Williams Books, 1992), p. 39.

¹⁷ Ann Parsonson, Constance Backhouse, Ann Curthoys and Ian Duncanson, “‘Race’, gender and nation in history and law,” in Diane Kirkby and Catherine Coleborne (eds.) *Law, history and colonialism: The Reach of Empire*, (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2001), p. 281.

¹⁸ Brookes and Tennant, 1992, pp. 25-48. Charlotte Macdonald, Merimeri Penfold and Bridget Williams (eds.) *The Book of New Zealand Women*, (Wellington, Bridget Williams Books, 1991).

is one of the few ways in which historians of women, Māori women in particular, can overcome their invisibility in official and written sources.¹⁹ Judith Binney and Gillian Chaplin's *Ngā Mōrehu*, brings Māori women's life stories, experiences and narratives to bear upon life in small rural communities on the east coast of the North Island associated with the Ringatu faith. As Binney and Chaplin explain, these narratives symbolize more than women's experiences of a religious movement. They are also family narratives, recognising that whakapapa is an essential determinant of history recounted from the perspective of the whānau.²⁰ Māori women hold an essential position in whānau history, argue Binney and Chaplin, because it is usually women who "transmit the family history" and its associated values.²¹ Anne Salmond's study of the life of Amiria Stirling reveals the centrality of Māori women to the social, political and cultural functioning of Māori society.²² The present study approaches the history of the Taieri Kāi Tahu and mixed descent community through the whānau and through whakapapa, recognizing that within these institutions women play a significant role in Kāi Tahu society. A feminist and whānau perspective is required to recast indigenous women's role in early instances of cultural interaction. In fact, Māori women's history reveals that it is through narratives of family that 'race' and gender can be understood and integrally linked in the processes of culture contact.

It is also through the whānau that the effects of colonization need to be understood. Russell Bishop states that his research into the history of intermarriage within his own family past illustrates that "to a significant degree the history of the

¹⁹ See Berys Heuer, *Maori Women*, (Wellington, Reed, 1972). Michael King, *Te Puea, a biography*, (Auckland, Penguin, 1987 edition). Mihi Edwards, *Mihipeka: early years*, (Auckland, Penguin, 1991). Michael King, *Whina: a biography of Whina Cooper*, (Auckland, Penguin, 1991). Anna Rogers and Miria Simpson (eds.) *Early stories from founding members of the Maori Women's Welfare League*, (Wellington, The League/Bridget Williams Books, 1993). Siobhan McKinney, "Representation and Self-Representation: The Use of Oral History in Texts About Maori Women," *Women's Studies Journal*, 13, 1, 1997, pp. 31-39. Mary Duffie, *Heeni: a Tainui elder remembers*, (Auckland, HarperCollins, 1997).

²⁰ Judith Binney and Gillian Chaplin, *Ngā Mōrehu: The Survivors*, (Auckland, Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 1.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

²² Anne Salmond, *Amiria: the life story of a Maori woman*, (Wellington, Reed, 1976).

family is a vignette of New Zealand's history."²³ Indeed, the focus on the family, Bishop suggests, illustrates the inconsistencies, tensions, multiplicity and complexity of the colonial experience. Much of the literature on the family in New Zealand has been sociological in focus, often detailing legislative developments and social policy, and generally focused upon the Pākehā family unit.²⁴ Historians have also been interested in assessing the role of the family in the nation's past, often concentrating on the role of the state in family life and in particular the reification of the family within the welfare state in the twentieth century.²⁵

It is feminist historians who have been most interested in the family for the insights it offers into domesticity and the status of women as citizens within the nation. Thus, a great deal of feminist scholarship in New Zealand and internationally impinges upon the notion and construction of the family in colonial society. More recently, Erik Olssen has noted that the literature on the family in colonial New Zealand needs to account for a variety of family types rather than merely the Victorian ideal. With this aim in mind, Olssen is one of the few scholars to introduce intermarriage and dual descent families into the wider literature on the colonial family in New Zealand but hesitates to develop the topic in-depth because the "extent [to which] these mixed marriages created a distinctive New Zealand family remains an unstudied issue."²⁶ Māori family structures often remain separate and distinct from this literature, but nevertheless what has been written on the Māori family tends to concentrate on the traditional family structure drawing upon ethnographic methods.²⁷

²³ Russell Bishop, *Collaborative Research Stories: Whakawhanaungatanga*, (Palmerston North, Dunmore Press, 1996), p. 36.

²⁴ Peggy G. Koopman-Boyden and Claudia D. Scott, *The Family in Government Policy in New Zealand*, (Sydney, Allen and Unwin, 1984).

²⁵ Erik Olssen and Andree Levesque, "Towards a History of the European Family in New Zealand," in Peggy G. Koopman-Boyden (ed.) *Families in New Zealand Society*, (Wellington, Methuen, 1978), pp. 1-25.

²⁶ Erik Olssen, "Families and the Gendering of European New Zealand in the Colonial Period, 1840-1880," in Caroline Daley and Deborah Montgomerie (eds.) *The Gendered Kiwi*, (Auckland, Auckland University Press, 1999), p. 40.

²⁷ See Margaret Orbell, "The Traditional Maori Family," in Peggy G. Koopman-Boyden (ed.) *Families in New Zealand Society*, (Wellington, Methuen, 1978), pp. 104-119. The term whānau is interrogated by Joan Metge, *New Growth from Old: The Whanau in the Modern World*, (Wellington, Victoria University Press, 1995).

Intermarriage and the dual descent family are marginal to the divergent literatures developed on the Pākehā and Māori family, ignoring the impact of new family structures on traditional patterns of kinship and land ownership.²⁸

The intersection between the family and racial policy is an increasingly important site of research dedicated to exploring the ways in which the colonial experience was multiple, fragmented, variant, contested and lived. Harnessed to the centring of the family has been recourse to methodologies that enable the voices of the marginalized to be heard. In exploring the African diaspora to Britain, Jayne O. Ifekwunigwe uses oral testimony to investigate the ways public and political paradoxes of ‘race’ impinge upon and inform the lives of those who are of ‘mixed-race’ in what she refers to as the ‘micro-familial context.’²⁹ For Stoler, the “microsites of familial and intimate spaces” are essential sites of study within the larger “macropolitics of imperial rule” and can be used to highlight the contradictions of racial politics.³⁰ The use of oral histories, for example, has meant that much of the literature on the lived experience of those of mixed descent has concentrated on the late twentieth century. Nevertheless, such work offers a way in which to engage with historical data in new ways that make visible the invisible rather than rendering the marginal silent. In short, family and individual lives are key elements in social history, especially for the reconstitution of a community. Importantly, they can be positioned to draw together the local and imperial, often revealing the ways in which colonization played out in a variety of places.³¹

This thesis takes a microcosmic approach to the study of intermarriage in one small Kāi Tahu community. In recent years, Waitangi Tribunal research reports have

²⁸ The exception is Joan Metge and Donna Durie-Hall, “Kua Tutū Te Puehu, Kia Mau: Maori Aspirations and Family Law,” in Mark Hanaghan and Bill Atkin (eds.) *Family Law Policy in New Zealand*, (Auckland, Auckland University Press, 1992), pp. 54-82 which includes a brief discussion of intermarriage.

²⁹ Jayne O. Ifekwunigwe, “Re-Membering ‘Race’: On Gender, ‘Mixed Race’ and Family in the English-African Diaspora,” in David Parker and Miri Song, *Rethinking ‘Mixed Race’*, (London, Pluto Books, 2001), pp. 42 and 55.

³⁰ Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule*, (Berkeley, University of California Press, 2002), p. 19.

³¹ Adele Perry, *On the Edge of Empire: Gender, Race and the Making of British Columbia, 1849-1871*, (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2001), p. 7.

placed New Zealand and Māori history under more scrutiny. While, as Ann Parsonson states, these reports have not given prominence to gender relations, they have made a significant impact upon the landscape of Māori and New Zealand history.³² The detailed historical and customary evidence presented by rūnaka, kaumātua and Kāi Tahu and Pākehā historians in the Kāi Tahu Claim before the Waitangi Tribunal, although not exhaustive, reflects the cultural, social and economic importance of mahika kai, fisheries and waterways to the survival and identity of Kāi Tahu and its rūnaka. In this respect, the expert evidence and reports presented to the Tribunal provide a microcosmic approach to understanding how the formation of Kāi Tahu communities is intricately related to an understanding of the question of place.

Victoria Grouden argues for the centrality of place-specific research on culture contact in New Zealand's past. Grouden states that "studies of culture change are mostly carried out on a generalised, macrocosmic scale, [but] to get an overview of the wider effects of time and change, it is important to explore this process for cultures in microcosmic context."³³ More recent works by Julie Simpson and Catherine Wilson on South Canterbury and Lake Tatawai respectively, illustrate the importance of historical specificity when examining the Kāi Tahu experience of colonization. In her investigation into the nature and experience of culture contact in South Canterbury, Simpson invests the local with more significance than it had been previously accorded within the framework of national and international themes of colonization and cultural interaction.³⁴ However, in framing her discussion within the context of Māori-Government-settler interaction, Simpson neglects the individual encounters that constitute the experience of colonization found by Catherine Wilson in the loss of Lake Tatawai, situated on the lower Taieri Plain. Wilson illustrates that the Kāi Tahu experience of colonization centred not only around land loss but also on

³² Parsonson et al, "'Race', gender and nation in history and law," 2001, p. 284.

³³ Victoria Grouden, "Ko te Hokianga o te Tai Tokerau: A Regional Case Study of Cultural Contact," (MA (Anthropology), University of Auckland, 1992), p. 1.

³⁴ Julie Simpson, "Te Hapa O Niu Tireni – 'Left out of New Zealand'? An Investigation of Māori Interactions with Pākehā in South Canterbury 1844-1906," (BA (Hons) Long essay, University of Otago, 2002).

the erosion of mahika kai, and that the loss of food sources for one Kāi Tahu community also represented a greater and significant cultural loss.³⁵ Such research illustrates how historical specificity can illuminate the multiplicity of encounter narratives. Indeed, Nicholas Thomas notes that there is no one single dialogue about, or experience of, encounter and cultural exchange, but instead multiple encounters that have been sustained and fraught, as well as episodic and intimate in nature.³⁶

The work of Paul Monin on Hauraki is a model for the study of the effects of culture contact on a Māori community. Monin has described Hauraki as “virtually non-existent in the popular memory and scarcely discernible in the landscape,” in much the same way that Maitapapa has been forgotten in published Kāi Tahu and settler histories.³⁷ Monin provides an opportunity for understanding the intricate processes of culture contact and colonization at the regional level, finding initially that Hauraki Māori actively and voluntarily engaged in trade with Pākehā, but that ultimately colonization triumphed as the region was opened up for large-scale settlement and resource extraction, followed by widespread land alienation. The work of Monin, Grouden and Wilson supports the contention of Ballara that each tribal area has “its own micro-history” harnessed to the development of the colonial economy which itself was contingent upon the possibilities of the natural environment.³⁸

Taking a place-specific approach, this thesis traces the establishment of Maitapapa as a site of Kāi Tahu occupation from the 1830s to its eventual abandonment in the early twentieth century. Today, according to Te Maire Tau, the Taieri kāika is ‘barren’.³⁹ Thus, the thesis explores the reasons why this community physically disintegrated and the families dispersed by the 1920s, tracing their

³⁵ Catherine Wilson, “Tatawai, Kai Tahu and the Claim,” (BA (Hons) research essay, University of Otago, 2002). Also see Bill Dacker, *The People of the Place: Mahika Kai*, (Wellington, New Zealand Commission, 1990) and Kristina Kirk, “Representing the Environment: Naming Places in Te Wai Pounamu/the South Island,” (MA, University of Canterbury, 1999).

³⁶ Nicholas Thomas, *Possessions: Indigenous Art/Colonial Culture*, (London, Thames and Hudson, 1999), pp. 10 and 15.

³⁷ Monin, p. 1.

³⁸ Angela Ballara, *Iwi: The dynamics of Maori tribal organization from c. 1769 to c. 1945*, (Wellington, Victoria University Press, 1998), p. 255.

³⁹ Rawiri Te Maire Tau, “Kurakura Ngai Tahu,” (MA, University of Canterbury, 1992), p. 372.

movements up until 1940. I argue that intermarriage contributed to loss of people and community and with it the loss of cultural knowledge experienced by the mixed descent families of Maitapapa. Intermarriage at Maitapapa contributed to a formation of a community in the 1890s that articulated its identity as both Kāi Tahu and mixed descent but at the same time lost a number of women to marriage and assimilation into local settler communities surrounding the kāika. By 1940 a mixed descent or Kāi Tahu identity was articulated by very few former families of the community. Instead, intermarriage had serious social and cultural impacts that saw the loss of knowledge about Maitapapa/Henley from family memory and the loss of Kāi Tahu culture and tradition from family knowledge.

As the work of Atholl Anderson, Harry Evison and Bill Dacker illustrate, as well as the extensive evidence presented in the Kāi Tahu Claim before the Waitangi Tribunal, every Kāi Tahu community experienced the effects or impacts of colonization in similar ways.⁴⁰ Many struggled to survive on small or poor quality reserves, many experienced long-term poverty, and were forced to live a subsistence lifestyle relying on seasonal labour for survival. Enduring poverty, land loss, ill-health and economic marginalization makes up what Judith Binney refers to as ‘the colonial experience.’⁴¹ While land loss, the erosion of mahika kai/cultivations and food sources and poverty characterized the lifeways of Kāi Tahu communities over the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, I argue that it is the long history of intermarriage at Maitapapa, beginning from the late 1830s, which distinguishes this community from others within Kāi Tahu. Intermarriage at Maitapapa illuminates an experience of colonization that was gendered in nature and contributes to an understanding of the physical disappearance of the community in the 1920s.

⁴⁰ Bill Dacker, *Te Mamae me te Aroha, The Pain and the Love: A history of Kai Tahu Whānui in Otago, 1844-1994*, (Dunedin, University of Otago Press, 1994). Harry Evison, *The Long Dispute: Maori Land Rights and European Colonisation in Southern New Zealand*, (Christchurch, Canterbury University Press, 1997). Atholl Anderson, *The Welcome of Strangers: An ethnohistory of southern Maori A.D. 1650-1850*, (Dunedin, University of Otago Press, 1998).

⁴¹ Binney and Chaplin, p. 27.

Discussion of Sources

Atholl Anderson has stated that the “study of hybridisation, at least in the first instance, has to be built upon detailed regional analyses of historical data.”⁴² The focus of this study is Maitapapa and the surrounding settlements of the lower Taieri Gorge. The study of patterns of intermarriage necessitates the reconstruction of the Kāi Tahu and mixed descent families that resided at Maitapapa between the 1830s and 1940. Tracing these families has required interaction with a wide variety of sources, both qualitative and quantitative, in order to locate and name every individual of Kāi Tahu descent who lived and married at, and migrated from, Maitapapa from the 1830s until 1940.

One of the best ways to begin to reconstruct families and community is through the whakapapa presented in the South Island Māori Land Court Minute Books (SIMB). Ann Parsonson has stated that Māori Land Court Minute Books allow for the study of the “Maori past, and Maori understandings and constructions of that past.”⁴³ However, these minute books must be viewed and used with caution. Given the very different context in which oral traditions were being presented, the evidence placed before the Māori Land Court was always partial, selective, and edited. Through the western, legalistic court process “oral traditions and histories were being marshalled and interrogated in quite unfamiliar ways,” and used to the advantage of those presenting evidence before the court.⁴⁴ In effect, they must be used alongside other sources of whakapapa in order to reconstruct family history.

A difficulty in reconstructing the history of the Maitapapa community, which necessarily entailed tracing family history, was that until 1992 there had been little academic study of whakapapa and kinship and on “a microscale there has not been

⁴² Anderson, 1991, p. 40.

⁴³ Ann Parsonson, “Stories for land: oral narratives in the Maori Land Court,” in Bain Attwood and Fiona Magowan (eds.) *Telling Stories: Indigenous history and memory in Australia and New Zealand*, (Wellington, Bridget Williams Books, 2001), p. 21.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

any recent study of Ngai Tahu genealogy.”⁴⁵ Whakapapa is most commonly understood as genealogy, but in Kāi Tahu society and in Māori society generally whakapapa (descent and kinship links) is the foundation of Kāi Tahu identity, encompassing tribal origins and embodying links with other tribal entities. In conjunction with history and traditions, whakapapa underpins how Kāi Tahu relates to landscape. As Tipene O’Regan and Te Maire Tau explain, all natural phenomena have a whakapapa and are thus perceived as ancestors. Whakapapa is the framework which binds the natural world to the spiritual world and holds “together past, present and future generations.”⁴⁶ Whakapapa and tradition are both recited to validate a given social order; claims to political territories and boundaries derive from them as well as land and resource claims.⁴⁷ In short, states Te Maire Tau, whakapapa is a ‘mental structure’, employed to understand social and cultural customs and rules.⁴⁸ While whakapapa is one of the foundations of Māori society and tradition, it has always been open to manipulation. This is especially the case when evidence was presented by claimants before the Native Land Court. A tradition “that cannot be supported by whakapapa, which cannot be cross-referenced to other whakapapa, is tradition that has to be regarded as suspect.”⁴⁹ In short, whakapapa becomes not just an assertion of identity but an ideological tool to justify a present social order.

The positioning of my whakapapa at the beginning of this introduction indicates that I interrogate the notion of identity from the perspective of an ‘insider.’ Since the 1980s, the politics of writing history including who can speak and write for

⁴⁵ Tau, 1992, p. 212. For a recent study of whakapapa in the Kāi Tahu context see Stephanie Kelly, “Weaving Whakapapa and narrative in the management of contemporary Ngai Tahu identities,” (PhD, University of Canterbury, 2002).

⁴⁶ Te Maire Tau, “Ngāi Tahu and the Canterbury Landscape – A Broad Context,” in John Cookson and Graeme Dunstall (eds.) *Southern Capital: Christchurch*, (Christchurch, Canterbury University Press, 2000), p. 41. Tipene O’Regan, “Ngāi Tahu and the Crown: partnership promised,” in Garth Cant and Russell Kirkpatrick (eds.) *Rural Canterbury: Celebrating its History*, (Lincoln, Lincoln University Press, 2001), p. 2.

⁴⁷ Peter Munz, “The Purity of Historical Method. Some Skeptical Reflections on the Current Enthusiasm for the History of Non-European Societies,” *New Zealand Journal of History*, 5, 1, 1971, p. 3.

⁴⁸ Tau, 2000, p. 41.

⁴⁹ Tipene O’Regan, “Old Myths and New Politics: Some Contemporary Uses of Traditional History,” *New Zealand Journal of History*, 26, 1, 1992 p. 25.

whom has been contested and debated. One of the central aims of postcolonial scholars is to bring to centre-stage the lives, experiences and voices of marginal persons, families and communities rarely viewed in historical documents. Given this context, and that genealogical research is a highly individual process, it is not surprising that many investigations into intermarriage have been conducted by authors with a personal connection to the subject.⁵⁰ Russell Bishop standpoints “story [telling] as a research approach” and includes the researching of whakapapa and the rediscovery of his own mixed descent family within this process.⁵¹ As a way in which to examine the formation of family in Trinidad, Denise Youngblood centres the stories about marriages in her multi-ethnic family, which she argues “function as discourses and practices of contestation and integration within the social and cultural landscape.”⁵² As Linda Tuhiwai Smith argues, it is from the perspective of an ‘insider’ that history gains access to the voices and lives of those who exist on the margins of society, in particular, those of mixed descent.⁵³

A large component of the research method within this thesis is genealogical in nature. Genealogy involves “compelling, and often interconnected imaginations of family, race, individual, sex, nation, blood, gene, gender, and technological and bodily processes of generation, inheritance, representation, and procreation.”⁵⁴ Nash indicates that the practice of ‘doing genealogy’ is very personal in character involving the search for identity and belonging. However, while it is a very individual activity it can also be collective and communal when employed as a methodology to recover ‘hidden histories’ of social groups rarely heard in historical narratives such as women, children, ethnic minorities and the working-class.⁵⁵ Researching family history thus

⁵⁰ See Paul Spickard, “The Subject is Mixed Race: The Boom in Biracial Biography,” in David Parker and Miri Song (eds.) *Rethinking ‘Mixed Race’*, (London, Pluto Press, 1997), pp. 217-239.

⁵¹ Bishop, p. 25.

⁵² Denise Youngblood, “Rainbow Family, Rainbow Nation: Reflections on Relatives and Relational Dynamics in Trinidad,” in James D. Faubion, *The Ethics of Kinship: Ethnographic Inquiries*, (Boston, Rowman and Littlefield, 2001), pp. 48-49.

⁵³ Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, (Dunedin, University of Otago Press, 1999), p. 5.

⁵⁴ Catherine Nash, “Genealogical Identities,” *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 20, 2002, p. 28.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

requires contextualization, by placing an individual into a complex web of social relations comprised of kinship and community. In this sense, reconstructing the Kāi Tahu community of Maitapapa also meant reconstructing the river settlements and communities that surrounded the kāika.

Birth, death and marriage certificates from both the general and Māori indexes, newspapers, family and local histories, Māori Land Court records, land and deed records, directories, tribal manuscripts and whakapapa are just some of the key sources that have been useful in reconstructing the Maitapapa community. Nevertheless, such a wide variety of sources illustrates the difficulty of tracing the lives of individuals and families, particularly those of Kāi Tahu and mixed descent. Indeed, Atholl Anderson states: “Reconstructing their [Kāi Tahu and mixed descent families] patterns of family life is difficult because information is fragmentary, sometimes contradictory, and scattered through an extensive literature of books, papers and official documents.”⁵⁶ Quite often many of the sources listed above lacked information on women, thus tracing their lives was difficult. However, directories, school records and marriage records were matched with oral histories in order to reconstruct the lives of Kāi Tahu women who ‘married out’ to Pākehā men and who often resettled on the margins of the Taieri reserve. Māori were not legally required to register births and deaths until 1913 and marriages until 1911. To compensate, the baptismal registers of the local Anglican, Catholic and Presbyterian churches were important sources of family information. Family history information was also accessed through cemetery records and headstone transcripts, local histories and, most importantly, oral histories.

Loss and survival frame many narratives of the colonial experience for Māori over the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It is through oral histories that these experiences can be recovered. Oral histories are a crucial source for exploring the history of the Kāi Tahu whānau of Maitapapa in the early twentieth century and give depth and complexity to the nature of the colonial experience. In her own research,

⁵⁶ Anderson, 1991, p. 3.

Judith Binney has found that “family oral stories may provide crucial keys to unlock histories that have been previously unacknowledged in the public arena.”⁵⁷ With this in mind, oral histories were conducted within this project, thus enabling the exploration of the personal dimension of the colonial experience, while also assisting in the exploration of the meaning behind statistical patterns. Oral histories and personal records such as family bibles and photographs have been central to illustrating the gendered experience of culture contact.

Intermarriage constitutes one aspect of the colonial experience at Maitapapa that took place within a context of land alienation and erosion of mahika kai/resource gathering rights. Given the centrality of land to the trajectory of Kāi Tahu history, repositories of land records were invaluable to tracing not only whakapapa but the wider narrative of dispossession at Maitapapa. The majority of the land-related records consulted were government archives such as those of the Department of Māori Affairs Files, Māori Land Court Minute Books, as well as the Indexes and Register of Inward correspondence to the Native Department. In addition, numerous government commissions of inquiry into Kāi Tahu land claims over the late nineteenth century to which many leading Kāi Tahu presented evidence give an insight into community and familial poverty and allow questions of identity to be explored.

In order to trace population change at Taieri, the New Zealand Census results, which did not begin to record the Māori population until 1874, give insight into the nature of settlement at Maitapapa. However, because these records are fragmentary they have to be supplemented by the manuscripts of early visitors, such as Edward Shortland, Thomas Burns and Walter Mantell, who recorded the Kāi Tahu population of Taieri, while the Weller letters, reports of native officers and newspapers are also useful when matched with other records. Such a wide variety of archives and records

⁵⁷ Judith Binney, “Encounters across time: The makings of an unanticipated trilogy,” in Bain Attwood and Fiona Magowan (eds.) *Telling Stories: Indigenous history and memory in Australia and New Zealand*, (Wellington, Bridget Williams Books, 2001), p. 80.

illustrates how the demographics of the Taieri Kāi Tahu and mixed descent population had to be painstakingly pieced together.

A range of labels have been historically applied to people of mixed descent. In New Zealand, the predominant labels applied to people of Māori-Pākehā descent were defined in biological terms, or more popularly by 'blood.' The term 'half-caste' was utilized in the New Zealand census from 1874 to 1921 to define and classify people of mixed descent. In nineteenth century Europe the term 'half-caste' referred to a person who was biologically of two different 'races'. Under native land legislation in nineteenth century New Zealand, 'Native' was defined as including anyone of 'half-caste' 'blood' or more. Thus anyone who was the child of a relationship between a Māori and 'half-caste', referred to as 'three-quarter-caste', was included under this definition. Anyone who was the child of a relationship between two persons of 'half-caste' descent was viewed as 'half-caste' while the child of a 'half-caste' and a Pākehā was denoted as 'quarter-caste' and considered to be 'European'. This latter term however, was not applied in the New Zealand census until 1926 when greater gradations in 'blood' categories were utilized by enumerators and the statistician-general.

The Census Act 1877 expanded upon the definition of Māori under native land legislation as including 'half-castes' by distinguishing between 'half-castes living as Europeans' and 'half-castes as living as Māori'. As both Atholl Anderson and Kate Riddell note, the term 'half-caste' was not evenly applied in census enumerators' reports. In particular, census reports of enumerators and sub-enumerators highlight the way in which the application of the term 'half-caste' was predicated upon the imperialist objective to classify, measure and control.⁵⁸ However, the importance of the census definitions and reports lies in the way in which they can be employed to understand the place of the 'half-caste' in New Zealand, for what they reveal about the

⁵⁸ See Deborah Posel, "A mania for measurement: statistics and statecraft in the transition to apartheid," in Saul Dubow (ed.) *Science and Society in South Africa*, (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 116-142. On the use of the term 'half-caste' in the New Zealand Census over the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries see Kate Riddell, "'Improving' the Maori: Counting the Ideology of Inter-marriage," *New Zealand Journal of History*, 34, 1, 2000, pp. 80-97.

ways in which the mixed descent population was variously identified over time and place. According to Riddell, the term 'half-caste' "is used throughout nineteenth century texts on Maori population, intermarriage, assimilation and fatal impact."⁵⁹ Damon Salesa argues that the term 'half-caste' was by the 1930s "a near universal product of colonialism."⁶⁰

The use of parentheses around the terms 'full-blood', 'three-quarter-caste', 'half-caste' and 'quarter-caste' throughout this thesis symbolize the problematic nature of these terms. In particular, their roots are located in the context of nineteenth century theories of racial hierarchies at a time when social scientists, officials and the wider public were interested in the implications of the crossing of the 'races'. In this thesis, these terms are interrogated within their historical context and are shown to be used for particular purposes, most notably for quantifying and measuring the changing ethnic dimension of the population through the national census. In this context, the term 'half-caste' was widely applied but unevenly and in an inconsistent manner. Nevertheless, 'half-caste' was understood as a biological term and as such held resonance for wider New Zealand society in the colonial period and into the early decades of the twentieth century. In this thesis, I include a person's blood quantum for the purposes of examining intermarriage patterns and by extension its social and cultural impact and the question of identity. As part of this exercise, the notion of 'half-caste' is interrogated and linked with changing conceptualisations of tribal and individual ethnic identity. Indeed, the accommodation of the mixed descent population by Kāi Tahu indicates that tribal identity involved not only 'blood' but also participation. Nevertheless, 'blood' played an important role in the lives of the mixed descent families that resided at and eventually migrated away from Maitapapa, to the point where their mixed heritage and visibility as 'European' gave them the option of choosing an ethnic identity. These racial and biological terms are employed

⁵⁹ Kate Riddell, "A 'Marriage of the Races'? Aspects of Intermarriage, Ideology and Reproduction on the New Zealand Frontier, (MA, Victoria University, 1996), p. 6.

⁶⁰ Toeolesulusulu D. Salesa, "Half-Castes between the Wars: Colonial Categories in New Zealand and Samoa," *New Zealand Journal of History*, 34, 1, 2000, p. 98.

in this thesis precisely because they were in popular use at the time in which these families lived and thus impinged upon their lives in meaningful ways. Importantly, ‘half-caste’ and ‘quarter-caste’ are only employed in the thesis when patterns of intermarriage are being measured. Otherwise, wherever possible, the term ‘mixed descent’ is used in preference to these racial terms.

Structure

In a review of the international and national literature of culture contact in Chapter One, I discuss the centrality of hybridity and ‘colonial desire’ to a history of intermarriage and cultural interaction within the process of colonization and within the rohe of Kāi Tahu. This chapter explores pertinent scholarship, and argues that the themes of the international literature resonate within the history of the Kāi Tahu families of Maitapapa. It is suggested that there is the need for continued development of a literature of culture contact and hybridity in New Zealand that moves beyond the relationship between the Crown and Māori to investigate the nature of ‘contact zones’ between people and at the level of the community, iwi, hapū and whānau.

Following this review of the historical scholarship, the chapters are chronological and thematic in subject and structure. Chapter Two explores the range of encounters engaged in by Taieri Kāi Tahu women with whalers and missionaries. I use the term ‘encounters’ rather than ‘engagements’ to signify the often brief and fleeting visits of these men in southern New Zealand. However, I do argue that these encounters were situated on a continuum, ranging from brief contacts to more sustained engagements. The trajectories of contacts between whalers and Taieri Kāi Tahu included relationships centred on labour practices and economic exchange culminating in intermarriage with indigenous women and the permanent settlement of whalers on the coast of southern New Zealand. In the first decades of encounter it is argued that intermarriage shifted from customary marriage on Kāi Tahu terms to western ceremonies conducted by a missionary. The outcome of these relationships

was the development of a small mixed descent population at Maitapapa which is outlined in this chapter.

Chapter Three examines the geographical boundaries that were drawn by the New Zealand Company and the Crown, illustrates the manner in which these were contested by Kāi Tahu and those of mixed descent and seeks to explore the ways in which they were transgressed. In particular, the laying down of the boundaries of the Taieri Native Reserve and the manner in which these boundaries were claimed, contested and transgressed occurred over the period from 1844, the date of the Otago Purchase, to 1868 when the first sitting of the Native Land Court took place in Otago. Here Taieri Kāi Tahu are placed in the context of the creation of the Otago Block in 1844 and the establishment of native reserves as part of a second and formal phase of colonization, which followed that represented by the sealers, traders and whalers. Within this context, the chapter examines the impact of intermarriage, the development of a mixed descent population and the formation of dual descent families on customary land rights and claims to land in Taieri Native Reserve.

Chapter Four focuses on intermarriage patterns at Maitapapa between 1850 and 1889 at a time when the colonial economy was developing. Through intermarriage, the reserve land was settled, occupied and cultivated by Pākehā partners, thereby undermining the notion of ‘native reserves’ as delineators of Kāi Tahu and British sites of occupation. As the reserve was being transgressed through intermarriage, the result was the development of a growing ‘half-caste’ population that continued to challenge property rights. As a result, Kāi Tahu leaders questioned who was responsible for persons of mixed descent and sought a solution from the government in the form of Half-Caste Crown Land Grant Acts, which were enacted between 1877 and 1888. As well as statutory management through land awards, colonial officials and politicians positioned British education as key to the assimilation of Māori and the ‘half-caste’ into mainstream society. Thus this chapter investigates the impact of a growing mixed descent population amongst Kāi Tahu and at Maitapapa in particular, and demonstrates that state intervention in the area of land

and education for ‘half-castes’ was concerned with ‘civilization’ and assimilation into Pākehā society.

Population decline and growth has been a significant characteristic of the Māori experience over the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Given this context, Chapter Five discusses the population recovery experienced generally by Kāi Tahu communities through an examination of the 1891 Census of Kāi Tahu Settlements. This allows patterns of intermarriage throughout the Kāi Tahu rohe to be investigated and it is proposed that intermarriage differed along regional lines. Chapter Five centres the demographic characteristics of Taieri Kāi Tahu, noting that the population was at its highest during this period. Significantly, data from the 1891 Census illustrates that at this date Taieri was the most intermarried of the Kāi Tahu settlements and was dominated by a large ‘quarter-caste’ population which under census legislation positioned the families as ‘European’ by ‘blood’.

While Chapter Five statistically shows that the Taieri population was ‘European’, the social and cultural activities that took place at the kāika between 1890 and 1915 illustrate that the community articulated an identity that was both Kāi Tahu and mixed descent. Weddings, tangi, presence at hui/meetings, vigilance in protecting Lake Tatawai from drainage in order to maintain access to mahika kai as both a source of food and of raw materials, the tradition of hosting and of visiting the Titi Islands situates the families as Kāi Tahu in practice and identity. Burials at the urupā, and the opening of Te Waipounamu Hall at Maitapapa in 1901 were reflective of the hybrid nature of the kāika and the surrounding river settlements, contributing to the articulation of a mixed descent identity.

From the 1850s families had begun to migrate away from the kāika following marriage and this pattern continued on a small scale up until 1915. Chapter Seven called ‘Migrations’, examines the rapid and complete physical loss of the community and the erosion of identity over the period 1916 to 1926. Dispersal was built upon a long-term engagement with intermarriage from the 1850s that produced a largely ‘quarter-caste’ population by 1891. This chapter argues that intermarriage alongside

appearance and education assisted in the assimilation of families into wider society and ultimately saw the loss of community symbolized by the loss of Te Waipounamu Hall, Taieri Ferry School and Lake Tatawai at the kāika.

Chapter Eight discusses the post 1927 destinations of the mixed descent families of Maitapapa. It illustrates that a number of the families moved to Taumutu and Tuahiwi in Canterbury, where they had kin and land interests, while other families assimilated into the farming communities of East Taieri, and yet others moved in family clusters to Waitahuna, Edendale and Balclutha. Drawing on interviews and a photographic archive, this chapter illustrates that while there were definite trends and patterns in the destinations of families, their stories contribute to a view of the colonial experience as highly personal. Further, this chapter uses personal stories to examine choices about identity, recognizing that “identity-building begins in the small and circumscribed context of an individual’s immediate family and community.”⁶¹

Conclusion

The history of the Maitapapa kāika is characterized by the poverty, loss and dispersal that the majority of Kāi Tahu communities suffered throughout the nineteenth century. Land alienation through native land legislation and the practices of the Native Land Court from 1868, reaching a height of activity at Maitapapa in the early twentieth century, undermined the strength and vitality of Kāi Tahu communities. A long history of intermarriage initially to whalers and then settlers compounded the colonial experience. The sustained character of intermarriage contributed to the development of a Kāi Tahu population at Maitapapa that was almost wholly of mixed descent by the turn of the twentieth century. Intermarriage is revealed to be the distinguishing characteristic of this community, contributing to the physical disappearance of the kāika by the 1920s. In short, the gendered ‘contact

⁶¹ Jennifer S. H. Brown, “Children of the Early Fur Trades,” in Joy Parr (ed.) *Childhood and Family in Canadian History*, (Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1982), p. 44.

zone' of intermarriage offers a unique perspective on culture contact in New Zealand and the Kāi Tahu colonial experience.

1

LITERATURES

Introduction

Over the past two decades, intermarriage has come under the increased attention of a wide variety of scholars from different disciplines including history, geography, sociology and cultural studies. This chapter provides an overview of these literatures, beginning with the theoretical insights of feminist and postcolonial scholarship before moving onto a discussion of the various and competing ways in which intermarriage has played out in a variety of former colonies. The New Zealand literature on intermarriage is placed within this discussion of the international context and it is argued that there is a need for more comparative scholarship in order to fully explore the nature of Māori women's experience of colonization, specifically in the form of intermarriage. The final section details the specific indigenous context and scholarship in which this case study of intermarriage operates. Scholars of Kāi Tahu history have framed the Kāi Tahu experience of colonization through the question of land dispossession. It is only recently that intermarriage, a central part of Kāi Tahu history, has been given attention and it is argued that a study of these relationships add a layer of complexity to understanding the colonial experience of indigenous women.

Feminist and Postcolonial Voices

Since Anna Davin's seminal 1978 article 'Imperialism and Motherhood',⁶² historians of women have interrogated and recast notions of empire and colonialism. Feminist scholarship has given impetus to the recasting of colonialism as gendered, recognising that white women were active rather than passive agents of the imperial

⁶² Anna Davin, "Imperialism and Motherhood," *History Workshop Journal*, 5, 1978, pp. 9-65.

effort, positioning the intricacies of the colonial encounter as sexualized. Anne McClintock's groundbreaking statement that "white women were not the hapless onlookers of empire but were ambiguously complicit both as colonizers and colonized, privileged and restricted, acted upon and acting" centres female agency and points to the material advantages women gained through the imperial project.⁶³ The work of scholars such as McClintock, Antoinette Burton, Claire Midgley and Katie Pickles has, in the words of Ann Laura Stoler, interrogated the links between sexuality, 'race', and empire, with the sheer range of scholarly works on the subject positioning 'the new imperial history' as a major site of research.⁶⁴

At the same time, postcolonial scholars have interrogated and disrupted the colonial project, illustrating the fractured and contradictory nature of this process as it played out within territories and upon indigenous bodies. Central to postcolonial scholarship is the collapsing of binaries in the seeking out of a dialectic model of interaction between metropole and colony on the larger scale, and between colonizers and colonized within the colonial encounter. In short, periphery and centre are characterized as engaging in a dialectic relationship rather than a one-way encounter.⁶⁵ The intersection between feminist and postcolonial approaches has given rise to the notion that empire, colonialism and sexuality are intricately linked. These scholars propose that the imperial project of territorial, military and political expansion was also intimate in character and nature. This thesis draws upon and connects these two literatures in a micro-study of intermarriage within a small Kāi Tahu community focusing on the bodies of mixed descent women and men.

⁶³ Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Conquest*, (London, Routledge, 1995), p. 6.

⁶⁴ Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule*, (Berkeley, University of California Press, 2002), p. 10. Antoinette Burton, "Rules of Thumb: British history and 'imperial culture' in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Britain," *Women's History Review*, 3, 4, 1994, pp. 483-501. Antoinette Burton, "Some Trajectories of 'Feminism' and 'Imperialism'," *Gender and History*, 10, 3, 1998, pp. 558-568. Antoinette Burton, "Thinking beyond the boundaries: empire, feminism and the domains of history," *Social History*, 26, 1, 2001, pp. 60-71. Claire Midgley (ed.) *Gender and Imperialism*, (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1998). Katie Pickles, *Female Imperialism and National Identity*, (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2002).

⁶⁵ Ann Laura Stoler and Frederick Cooper "Between Metropole and Colony: Rethinking a Research Agenda," in Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (eds.) *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1997), pp. 1-56.

Over the past decade an emphasis on multiplicity and diversity has defined historical scholarship, giving rise to a range of theories concerning identity and racial ambiguity, which has challenged past scholarship on racial politics and dynamics in colonial societies. In the nineteenth century, the term ‘hybrid’ was employed to refer to the biological and physical crossing of the ‘races’ but in the twentieth century it has been applied culturally.⁶⁶ Today hybridity is a term that has been taken up by a range of disciplines to refer to the fluid movement of peoples over territory and between cultures, the negotiation of ‘blood’ and identity, as well as the transgression of borders and boundaries. Hybridity as it is used in cultural theory is concerned with inverting the nineteenth century scientific and racial use of the term and invoking within it resistance to racial classification, hierarchies and colonial dominance. As such, it is a concept that has been taken up by a range of disciplines, including cultural studies, geography and sociology, to refer to the ability of some peoples to shapeshift, or the fluid movement over territory, through space and between cultures.⁶⁷ Indeed, to such scholars, hybridity is celebrated and located as a space or site of resistance to, and intervention in, narratives of ‘race’ and nation.⁶⁸

Homi Bhabha’s ‘the third space’, Mary Louise Pratt’s ‘contact zone’, and Robert Young’s ‘colonial desire’ represent three theories that have been applied to cultural, economic, physical and racial transgressions of borders and identity and are a reflection of a growing scholarly interest in hybridity over the past decade. Pratt, as already noted, utilizes the term ‘transculturation’ to refer to the outcome of cultural changes such as hybridity from the clash of cultures in the ‘contact zone’ with an emphasis on cultural dialogue, interaction and exchange. Likewise, Robert Young has

⁶⁶ Robert Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race*, (London, Routledge, 1995), p. 6.

⁶⁷ See Avtar Brah and Annie E. Coomes (eds.) *Hybridity and its discontents: politics, science, culture*, (London, Routledge, 2000). David Parker and Miri Song (eds.) *Rethinking ‘Mixed Race’*, (London, Pluto Press, 2001). John Docker and Gerhard Fischer (eds.) *Race, Colour and Identity in Australia and New Zealand*, (Sydney, University of New South Wales Press, 2000).

⁶⁸ Katharyne Mitchell, “Different diasporas and the hype of hybridity,” *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 15, 1997, p. 533.

argued for models of interaction rather than diffusion, assimilation or isolation in histories of culture contact.

Hybridity is at once biological, cultural and political in character, offering an opportunity to interrogate the larger dialectical relationship between colony and empire, while enabling the examination of the internal character of colonial relationships between the state and indigenous peoples. In the concept of ‘colonial desire’, Young has introduced a theory of hybridity that recasts our understandings of nineteenth century and early twentieth century racial theory. Young argues that colonial desire, the “covert but insistent obsession with transgressive inter-racial sex, hybridity and miscegenation”,⁶⁹ underpins the colonial project and is integral to understanding race relations in the colonial context and consequent relationships of cultural interaction. Employing the term ‘colonial desire’ to understand the widespread practice of, and obsessive concern with, interracial sex between colonizers and colonized, Young’s central concern is to trace a ‘genealogy of desire’ in the colonies, focusing on the term ‘hybrid’ in nineteenth century racial thought. Specifically, the very existence of interracial unions undermined nineteenth century racial hierarchies because such relationships crossed boundaries of racial intimacy and led to the production of mixed descent populations that many scholars have identified as occupying two cultures, neither culture, or what Bhabha has termed the ‘third space’. For Bhabha, the ‘third space’ represents an ‘in-between space’ that “provide[s] the terrain for elaborating strategies of ‘self-hood’ – singular or communal – that initiate new signs of identity, and innovate sites of collaboration, and contestation.”⁷⁰ Indeed, states Paul Meredith, it is the ‘half-caste’ who embodies “the crossing of boundaries”, both biologically and in social and cultural terms.⁷¹

Hybridity and questions of identity have been at the centre of international post-colonial scholarship. These scholars interrogate notions of power, dominance,

⁶⁹ Young, p.xii.

⁷⁰ Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, (London, Routledge, 1994), pp. 1-2.

⁷¹ Paul Meredith, “A Half-Caste on the Half-Caste in the Cultural Politics of New Zealand,” www.lianz.waikato.ac.nz/papers/paul, accessed October 2001, p. 2.

resistance, negotiation and dialogue in order to undermine the view of empire as monolithic, instead presenting it as multiple, complex and contested. While hybridity has been an important component of this literature over the past decade, it has rarely been looked at in the New Zealand context. This thesis provides an opportunity to explore hybridity in historical context at one small Kāi Tahu community, and offers an opportunity to address one of the key criticisms of post-colonial literature, that hybridity is highly theoretical, universalizes and generalizes the colonial encounter and is rarely grounded in specific histories and locations.⁷² The explosion of work over the past decade across a number of disciplines on contact zones, borderlands, transculturation, migrations, and various forms of hybridity has developed the term far beyond its original formulation. Thus, the process of extending and revising these groundbreaking conceptual theories has led to confusion over what the term hybridity means and in particular, has underlined the need to apply it appropriately and to ground it in historical contexts. Focusing on patterns of intermarriage in one small Kāi Tahu community offers an opportunity to interrogate the appropriateness of such theories as well as their applicability.

Intermarriage and Empire

Hybridity has been taken up and applied to a range of localities and has informed a growing literature devoted to intermarriage and interracial relationships. This application, however, has generally centred on ‘half-castes’, often positioning them as ‘in-between’ two cultures. The application of cultural theory to historical data has brought forth a range of labels for the children of interracial relationships. Kenneth Ballhatchet describes Eurasians in India as living ‘on the margins’ and as occupying an ‘ambiguous position’.⁷³ Damon Salesa applies the terms ‘borderland’

⁷² Ania Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*, (London, Routledge, 1998), pp. 178-179. Also see Gerry Smyth, “The Politics of Hybridity: Some Problems with Crossing the Border,” in Ashok Bery and Patricia Murray (eds.) *Comparing Postcolonial Literatures: Dislocations*, (Hampshire, Palgrave, 2000), pp. 43-58.

⁷³ Kenneth Ballhatchet, *Race, Sex and Class Under the Raj: Imperial Attitudes and Policies and their Critics, 1793-1905*, (London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1980), p. 111.

and ‘troublesome’ to ‘half-castes’ in Samoa, evoking the contested spaces this group inhabited.⁷⁴ This emphasis on the ‘half-caste’ has allowed the examination of the understanding and construction of ‘race’ and racial policy in a variety of locations.⁷⁵ While children of interracial relationships are the focus, such work provides a foundation from which to begin to reconstruct hybridity in the historical context, with the first point of intervention being intermarriage.

The experience of interracial sex and intermarriage in the colonies exposes nineteenth century racial hierarchies, which attempted to categorize and separate ‘races’. For Young, the internal tensions exposed through the development of the hybrid at the periphery of empire, denote the centrality of desire to understanding the extension of European notions of ‘race’ to the colonies. Placing the term hybridity within the Victorian debate over racial hierarchies allows Young to link racism with sexuality, because:

the debates about theories of race in the nineteenth century, by settling on the possibility or impossibility of hybridity, focused explicitly on the issue of sexuality and the issue of sexual unions between whites and blacks. Theories of race were thus also covert theories of desire.⁷⁶

In this sense, argues Hannah Robert, interracial unions “between colonisers and colonised occupy an unstable place in the colonising process” often because such relations “undermined the pretence of separation between coloniser and colonised.”⁷⁷

In short, interracial unions, whether they were brief encounters or more formal

⁷⁴ Damon Salesa, “‘Troublesome Half-Castes’: Tales of a Samoan Borderland,” (MA, University of Auckland, 1997), p. 2. Also see Paul Shankman, “Interethnic Unions and the Regulation of Sex in Colonial Samoa, 1839-1945,” *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 110, 2, 2001, pp. 119-148.

⁷⁵ On India see Ballhatchet. On Southeast Asia see Ann Stoler, “‘Mixed-bloods’ and the cultural politics of European identity in colonial Southeast Asia,” in Jan Pieterse Nederveen and Bhikhu C. Parekh, *The Decolonization of Imagination: culture, knowledge and power*, (London, Zed Books, 1995), pp. 128-148. On New Zealand see Avril Bell, “‘Half-castes’ and ‘White Natives’: The Politics of Māori-Pākehā Hybrid Identities,” in Claudia Bell and Steve Matthewman (eds.) *Cultural Studies in Aotearoa New Zealand: identity, space and place*, (Auckland, Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 121-138 and Kate Riddell, “‘Improving’ the Maori: Counting the Ideology of Intermarriage,” *New Zealand Journal of History*, 34, 1, 2000, pp. 80-97.

⁷⁶ Young, p. 9.

⁷⁷ Hannah Robert, “Disciplining the Aboriginal Female Body: Inter-racial Sex and the Pretence of Separation”, *Australian Feminist Studies*, 16, 34, 2001, p. 69.

relationships, represent a rupture in colonial discourse concerning racial hierarchies and race relations. Thus, the progeny of these unions, the 'half-caste', was subject to a range of theories concerning racial degeneration or conversely their role in racial 'improvement.'

This focus on the children of interracial unions is clear in the work of Ann Laura Stoler who views Empire as multi-faceted and fragmentary. Stoler locates place and gender as central to analyzing the place of 'race' within empire. In doing so, she exemplifies a feminist post-colonial historiography centred on the complicity of white women, whom she sees as "both subordinates in colonial hierarchies and as active agents of imperial culture in their own right,"⁷⁸ within colonial racism and hierarchies in the empire. Indeed, within empire a politics of exclusion was based on class, 'race' and gender, and:

was contingent on constructing categories, legal and social classifications designating who was "white," who was "native," who could become a citizen rather than a subject, which children were legitimate progeny and which were not. What mattered were not only one's physical properties but who counted as "European" and by what measure. . . . Social and legal standing derived not only from color, but from the silences, acknowledgements, and denials of the social circumstances in which one's parents had sex. Sexual unions in the context of concubinage, domestic service, prostitution or church marriage derived from the hierarchies of rule; but these were negotiated and contested arrangements, bearing on individual fates and the very structure of colonial society. Ultimately inclusion or exclusion required regulating the sexual, conjugal and domestic life of *both* Europeans in the colonies and their colonized subjects."⁷⁹

Therefore, there was a strong link between sex, 'race' and the control of empire. Specifically, the production of hybrid bodies emerged out of the lack of control, or ambiguity towards, interracial sex. Stoler argues, like Hannah Robert, that "perhaps most important, the tension between concubinage as a confirmation and compromise of racial hierarchy was realized in the progeny that it produced, . . . [who] straddled

⁷⁸ Ann Laura Stoler, "Making empire respectable: the politics of race and sexual morality in 20th-century colonial cultures," *American ethnologist*, 16, 1989, p. 634.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 635.

the divisions of ruler and ruled [and] threatened to blur the colonial divide.”⁸⁰ In this respect, children of mixed descent, especially if they were illegitimate, embodied a ‘tension of empire’ between inclusionary discourses and exclusionary practices.⁸¹ The locus of these theories of ‘colonial desire’ was the indigenous woman and interracial sex.

The international literature on intermarriage and the colonial enterprise is multifaceted and diverse. Much of this scholarship positions intermarriage as an almost universal element of empire, present in the former colonies of Britain, the Netherlands, Spain and Portugal but with very different outcomes in these localities.⁸² This scholarship reveals that intermarriage can be understood on a number of levels: as an illicit informal union; a brief union that produces a child or children of mixed descent; as a marriage undertaken for economic purposes and by the customs of the indigenous peoples of that region, that can be either short or long-term; or as a legal marriage contract undertaken within the confines of the missionary station or the church. The universal nature of intermarriage and its intimate relationship with colonization is reflected in a growing scholarship on the colonial experience in Canada, Southeast Asia, India, the United States, the Caribbean, Latin America, Australia and Samoa with the spotlight rarely extending to New Zealand.⁸³ This vast literature illustrates that intermarriage and interracial unions of a variety of types had

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 638.

⁸¹ Ann Laura Stoler, “Sexual Affronts and Racial Frontiers: European Identities and the Cultural Politics of Exclusion in Colonial Southeast Asia,” in Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (ed.) *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in A Bourgeois World*, (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1997), p. 198.

⁸² Noel P. Gist and Anthony Gary Dworkin, (eds.) *The Blending of Races: Marginality and Identity in World Perspective*, (New York, Wiley-Interscience, 1972).

⁸³ For example, Sylvia Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur-Trade Society, 1670-1870*, (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1980). Jennifer S. H. Brown, *Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country*, (Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, 1980). Adele Perry, *On the Edge of Empire: Gender, Race and the Making of British Columbia, 1849-1871*, (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2001). Christopher Hawes, *Poor Relations: The Making of an Eurasian Community in British India, 1773-1833*, (Richmond, Curzon Press, 1996). Martha Hodes (ed.) *Sex, Love, Race: Crossing Boundaries in North American History*, (New York, New York University Press, 1999). Patricia Mohammed, “‘But most of all mi love me browning’: The Emergence in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Jamaica of the Mulatto Woman as the Desired.” *Feminist Review*, 65, 2000, pp. 22-48; Nancy Leys Stepan, *‘The Hour of Eugenics’: Race, Gender and Nation in Latin America*, (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1991). Robert, 2001, pp. 69-81. Toeolesulusulu D. Salesa, “Half-Castes Between the Wars: Colonial Categories in New Zealand and Samoa,” *New Zealand Journal of History*, 34, 1, 2000, pp. 98-116.

a long-term impact on the demography of many indigenous communities that varied over time and place. Hawaii has had a long history of interracial marriage and is so widely accepted that it has been described as having an “island culture of intermarriage.”⁸⁴ In a similar manner, intermarriage has drastically changed the demography of Mexico. Gutierrez argues that the Spanish conquest of Mexico from 1521 was primarily biological rather than military, and that mixed descent children were borne from the violence of Spanish colonization.⁸⁵

In colonial New Zealand, ‘colonial desire’ and its interface between sex, ‘race’ and empire was exemplified by the official policies of ‘amalgamation’ in the nineteenth century and assimilation in the twentieth century: also variously termed ‘Europeanisation’, ‘civilisation’, ‘absorption’, ‘integration’, or ‘fusion’.⁸⁶ New Zealand’s official racial policy in the nineteenth century was amalgamation, which refers to bringing Māori under the control of British law and the belief in the superiority of British institutions.⁸⁷ Literature on the colonization process and its impacts in New Zealand has often concentrated on conflict, emphasizing state domination and assimilation as it took place through war and native land legislation. Kate Riddell argues that such a top-down approach leaves little room for an understanding of Māori resistance to, or accommodation of, the colonization process. It is through intermarriage, argues Riddell, that “Maori in fact tried to fit Pakeha newcomers into their own frameworks for control”, on the colonial frontier.⁸⁸ In the search for Māori agency, scholars have employed a wider range of methods than

⁸⁴ Xanning Fu, “Interracial Marriage and Status Exchange: A Study of Pacific Islanders in Hawai’i from 1983 to 1994,” *Pacific Studies*, 22, 1, 1999, p. 51. F. James Davis, “The Hawaiian Alternative to the One-Drop Rule,” in Naomi Zack (ed.) *American Mixed Race: The Culture of Microdiversity*, (Maryland, Rowman and Littlefield, 1995), pp. 115-131.

⁸⁵ Natividad Gutierrez, “Miscegenation as Nation-Building: Indian and Immigrant Women in Mexico,” in Davia Stasiulis and Nira Yuval-Davis (eds.) *Unsettling Settler Societies: Articulations of Gender, Race, Ethnicity and Class*, (London, Sage, 1995), p. 161.

⁸⁶ Kate Riddell, “A ‘Marriage of the Races’? Aspects of Intermarriage, Ideology and Reproduction on the New Zealand Frontier, (MA, Victoria University, 1996), pp. 7-8.

⁸⁷ Alan Ward, *A Show of Justice: racial ‘amalgamation’ in nineteenth-century New Zealand*, (Auckland, Auckland University Press, 1995), p. 36.

⁸⁸ Riddell, 1996, p. 2.

previously, moving to understand the relationship between the state and Māori as constituted of a multitude of dialogues, encounters and engagements.

While, as Alan Ward suggests, the official policy of amalgamation acted to sanction intermarriage between Māori and Pākehā in a legal sense, there was nonetheless official, social and scientific debate about the ‘half-caste’ in colonial New Zealand.⁸⁹ According to Belich, in nineteenth century Europe the place of the ‘half-caste’ was more acceptable in monogenism, the belief in the unity of humanity, than in polygenism, the belief that different ‘races’ were actually different species defined by fixed racial characteristics, whereby interracial sex would produce a ‘delicate race’ that would die young.⁹⁰ Colonial New Zealand witnessed this debate play out in the context of amalgamation. Intermarriage in colonial New Zealand could represent the physical embodiment of amalgamation policy, or be positioned as the catalyst for racial degeneration.⁹¹

Despite this debate, very little of the New Zealand scholarship on culture contact and race relations directly touches upon intermarriage and hybridity as components of the colonial process and experience. Intermarriage is an aspect of colonization that remains relatively marginal to the history of culture contact in New Zealand. Nevertheless, over the past decade a number of New Zealand scholars have noted the need for work in this field, citing it as a future area of research that could profitably be used to explore the fractured and conflicting ways in which colonization has played out on the New Zealand landscape. In 1996, Judith Binney stated that “the admixture of peoples, is a cultural issue as yet little addressed in New Zealand’s historiography” and that studies “of families of dual descent will enlarge our understanding of the multiplicity of the colonial experience.”⁹² Erik Olssen argues for a greater emphasis on the local and specific in New Zealand historiography and sees

⁸⁹ Ward, p. 310.

⁹⁰ Sheryl Sweetman, “James Carroll 1887-96: “a wholesome blend”,” (MA, Massey University, 1973), p. 5.

⁹¹ Angela Ballara, *Proud to be White? A Survey of Pakeha Prejudice in New Zealand*, (Auckland, Heinemann, 1986), p. 51.

⁹² Judith Binney, “Contested Ground: Australian and Aborigines under the British Crown. Edited by Ann McGrath.” *New Zealand Journal of History*, 30, 1, 1996, p. 87.

the study of the bi-racial experience as central to the examination of the diversity and complexity of New Zealand history.⁹³ A dialectic model of culture contact that centres Māori agency, argues Olssen, “must now be studied in the distinct localities where Maori and Pakeha inter-married.”⁹⁴ This thesis offers an opportunity to explore how early and sustained intermarriage impacted on the families of one small indigenous community.

The move to explore patterns of intermarriage through the lens of gender is a recent trend in the literature and is derived from the Canadian context. Over the past 40 years, a large literature focused on the ‘mixed-blood’ Métis community has been produced.⁹⁵ Scholarship on the métis has been wide-ranging, encompassing the origins of the community, its internal dynamics, the question of land rights, and the articulation of a social and political identity. Since the 1980s Canada’s interracial past has been linked to theories about gender, ‘race’ and nation. In her history of encounters between fur, skin and nation, Chantel Nadeau illustrates that through intermarriage and the fur-trade women’s bodies are “the very basis of the sexual economy of the nation, and women represent powerful agents and producers of this sexual economy.”⁹⁶ Sylvia Van Kirk, Jennifer Brown, Sarah Carter, Adele Perry and Chantel Nadeau all explicitly centre the presence of women in the fur-trade as economically and sexually significant to the development and maintenance of this resource-based economy in Canada. Intermarriage played an important social-economic role in the fur-trade industry, giving the traders and the fur-trade companies access to resources while uniting indigenous communities and traders in labour

⁹³ Erik Olssen, “Where to From Here? Reflections on the Twentieth-century Historiography of Nineteenth-century New Zealand,” *New Zealand Journal History*, 26, 1, 1992, p. 66.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Gerhard J. Ens, *Homeland to Hinterland: The Changing Worlds of the Red River Metis in the Nineteenth Century*, (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1996). Jacqueline Peterson and Jennifer Brown (eds.) *The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Métis in North America*, (Manitoba, University of Manitoba Press, 1985). Theodore Binnema, Gerhard J. Ens and R. C. MacLeod (eds.) *From Rupert’s Land to Canada*, (Edmonton, University of Alberta Press, 2001).

⁹⁶ Nadeau, *Fur Nation*, p. 2. Also see, Chantel Nadeau, “‘My furladies’: The fabric of a nation,” in Sara Ahmed and Jackie Stacey (eds.) *Thinking Through the Skin*, (London, Routledge, 2001), pp. 194-222; Sarah Carter, “Categories and Terrains of Exclusion: Constructing the “Indian Woman” in the Early Settlement Era in Western Canada,” in Joy Parr and Mark Rosenfeld (eds.) *Gender and History in Canada*, (Toronto, Copp Clark, 1996); Perry, 2001.

practices.⁹⁷ In particular, these scholars note that the industry had a significant impact on women, arguing that they were absorbed into the fur-trade industry and society in a way that men were not, and as such their experience of culture contact was very different from that of their fathers and brothers.⁹⁸

Canadian literature has always challenged the boundaries of scholarship on interracial marriage, and it was the work of Sylvia Van Kirk and Jennifer Brown that turned the spotlight upon indigenous women rather than merely the men they married. Significantly, Van Kirk's work, unlike Australian and American scholarship, focuses upon the marriage patterns of indigenous women and their 'mixed-race' children allowing her to explore questions of generational patterns of assimilation and acculturation amongst fur-trade families. While Nadeau has argued for the explicit link between sex and nation, Van Kirk in her exploration of the experiences of colonization of five 'Hudson Bay Company/Native' families of Victoria, British Columbia, considered the importance of wealth and property to the process of acculturation.⁹⁹ It is through the history of these families, argues Van Kirk, that one is able to illuminate "the complex intersection of the dynamics of race, class, and gender", in the colonization process.¹⁰⁰ However, the scholarship of Van Kirk and Jennifer Brown tends to focus upon the fur-trade families of mixed descent who were of the upper-echelons of that society, often because they are easier to trace, and the process of acculturation that they experienced is more clearly enunciated.¹⁰¹ Nevertheless, in giving agency to indigenous women by centring them in her exploration of intermarriage and identity, Van Kirk provides the model for the way in

⁹⁷ Van Kirk, 1980, p. 4.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁹⁹ Sylvia Van Kirk, "Tracing the Fortunes of Five Founding Families of Victoria", *BC Studies*, 115/116, 1997/98, pp. 149-179.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 179.

¹⁰¹ Brown, 1980. Jennifer S. H. Brown, "Children of the Early Fur Trades," in Joy Parr (ed.) *Childhood and Family in Canadian History*, (Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1982), pp. 44-68. Sylvia Van Kirk, "'What if Mama is an Indian?' The cultural ambivalence of the Alexander Ross Family," in Jacqueline Peterson and Jennifer Brown (eds.) *The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Métis in North America*, (Manitoba, University of Manitoba Press, 1985), pp. 207-220.

which historical specificity gives voice to the competing and nuanced ways the 'colonial experience' of Aboriginal and mixed descent women played out in Canada.

Canada's fur trade and shore whaling in southern New Zealand had very similar impacts on their respective indigenous populations. Both were resource based economies that were gendered male and were seasonal in nature. Further, the continued presence of both the traders and whalers in Canada and southern New Zealand was contingent on intermarriage. Intermarriage patterns in southern New Zealand, as the work of Atholl Anderson reveals, followed a very similar pattern to those experienced by Canada's Aboriginal women and male newcomers. Anderson, who was the first scholar to explore the question of the 'mixed-race' population in the South Island of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, has illustrated the high level of contact between sealers and whalers and Kāi Tahu women in the Otago and Southland regions.¹⁰² Anderson revealed that intermarriage was encouraged by Kāi Tahu chiefs for economic purposes. However, as time passed, those women who married the whaler, trader or settler into the Kāi Tahu community, moved away from Kāi Tahu kāika, taking their children with them. In short, the impact of changing settlement patterns initiated by intermarriage was to contribute to depopulation amongst Kāi Tahu communities.¹⁰³ There is however, an important point of difference. In Canada, the Métis developed into a distinct group with a clearly articulated political and ethnic identity while Kāi Tahu of mixed descent generally assimilated into the larger tribal identity. A study of a small Kāi Tahu community such as Maitapapa, offers the opportunity to further explore patterns of intermarriage and its effect on ethnic identity.

Intermarriage as it played out in nineteenth century New Zealand is accorded less scholarly coverage than that of the late twentieth century. Despite the strong association of mixed descent populations with the early settlement of Te

¹⁰² Atholl Anderson, *Race against time: the early Maori-Pakeha families and the development of the mixed race population in southern New Zealand*, (Dunedin, Hocken Library, 1991).

¹⁰³ See Atholl Anderson, *The Welcome of Strangers: An Ethnohistory of Southern Maori A.D. 1650-1850*, (Dunedin, University of Otago Press, 1998).

Waipounamu/the South Island by sealers and whalers, the literature on intermarriage in New Zealand is limited in timeframe, size and scope. In fact, much of the scholarship on intermarriage in New Zealand has concentrated on the post World War Two context, discussing the link between the rapid urbanization of single Māori men and women, positioning intermarriage as one of its effects.¹⁰⁴ In the context of the nineteenth century, Trevor Bentley's *Pakeha-Maori* refers to intermarriage only peripherally, preferring to centre the sealers, whalers and traders who married Māori women. Kate Riddell provides an overview of nineteenth century intermarriage in the North Island as well as relevant legislation, while in the South Island it is only Atholl Anderson who has covered this aspect of colonization in depth. Riddell's thesis on intermarriage on New Zealand's moving colonial frontier, gives little attention to the nature of intermarriage in the South Island. The experience of intermarriage by Kāi Tahu communities remains marginal to the history of the colonial encounter in New Zealand.

The literature concerned with peoples of mixed descent in the United States and the Caribbean reflects a very different history of race relations from that of Canada and New Zealand. This literature illuminates the coercive aspect of interracial relationships that took place within the institution of slavery and the legal restrictions of the 'one drop' rule faced by descendants of these early unions.¹⁰⁵ At the same time, there is an increasing literature on the acculturation experience of the indigenous population in North America.¹⁰⁶ In particular, greater attention is being paid to intermarriage in indigenous communities and between white women and Native

¹⁰⁴ John Harré, *Maori and pakeha: a study of mixed marriages in New Zealand*, (Wellington, Reed, 1966). John Harré, "Maori-Pakeha Intermarriage," in Erik Schwimmer (ed) *The Maori People in the Nineteen-Sixties*, (Auckland, Longman Paul, 1968). Also see Ernest Beaglehole and Pearl Beaglehole, *Some Modern Maoris*, (Wellington, New Zealand Council for Educational Research, 1946), on Maori-Chinese intermarriage in Kowhai. Joan Metge, *The Maoris of New Zealand*, (London, Keegan and Paul, 1967).

¹⁰⁵ See Mohammed; Verene Shepherd, Bridget Brereton and Barbara Bailey (eds.) *Engendering History: Carribean Women in Historical Perspective*, (New York, St Martin's Press, 1995); Elizabeth Reis (ed.) *American Sexual Histories*, (Massachusetts, Blackwell, 2001); Joshua D. Rothman, *Notorious in the Neighborhood: Sex and Families across the Color Line in Virginia, 1787-1861*, (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 2003).

¹⁰⁶ See Colin G. Calloway (ed.) *After King Philip's War: Presence and Persistence in Indian New England*, (Hanover, University Press of New England, 1997).

American men.¹⁰⁷ Such research, argues Martha Hodes, contributes to a complex picture of interracial encounters in the United States and moves beyond the dominance of illicit interracial sex and relationships during the era of slavery.¹⁰⁸ Greater attention is now being paid to the historical diversity of interracial relationships in the United States. Examples include Elise Lemire's re-reading of interracial relationships in the states of New York, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts between 1776 and 1865 and Kevin Mumford's analysis of the geography and spatiality of often illicit black and white interracial encounters in 1920s Chicago and New York.¹⁰⁹

New Zealand has not experienced any formal legal prohibitions as to intermarriage between Māori and Pākehā. Indeed, the "interesting thing about blood mixing in New Zealand is that unlike so many other points of colonial contact, the 'equations' of blood that resulted from miscegenation were never used to legally or culturally define the status of an individual."¹¹⁰ Unlike New Zealand, the predominant concern of American literature is on the rule of law and codification of racial classifications. In the United States, the work of Peggy Pascoe dominates.¹¹¹ Pascoe uses legislation and court cases as a vehicle through which to explore and understand social and ideological responses to intermarriage and the constructions of gender and

¹⁰⁷ See Margaret Jacobs, "The Eastmans and the Luhans: interracial marriage between white women and Native American men, 1875-1935," *Frontiers*, 23, 3, 2002, pp. 29-54. Katherine Ellinghaus, "Reading the Personal as Political: The Assimilationist Views of a White Woman Married to a Native American Man, 1880s-1940s," *Australasian Journal of American Studies*, 18, 2, 1999, pp. 23-42. M. Annette Jaimes, "Some Kind of Indian: On Race, Eugenics and Mixed-Bloods," in Naomi Zack (ed.) *American Mixed Race: The Culture of Microdiversity*, (Maryland, Rowman and Littlefield, 1995), pp. 133-153. A number of essays in Martha Hodes (ed.), *Sex, Love, Race: Crossing Boundaries in North American History*, (New York, New York University Press, 1999) reflect on historical sexual encounters between Native Americans and Europeans, as well as Native Americans and Black Americans.

¹⁰⁸ Hodes, 1997, p. 3.

¹⁰⁹ Elise Lemire, *"Miscegenation": Making Race in America*, (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002). Kevin J. Mumford, *Interzones: Black/White Sex Districts in Chicago and New York in the Early Twentieth Century*, (New York, Columbia University Press, 1997).

¹¹⁰ Riddell, 1996, p. 6. Also see Kate Riddell, "'Improving' the Maori: Counting the Ideology of Intermarriage," *New Zealand Journal of History*, 34, 1, 2000, pp.80-97.

¹¹¹ Peggy Pascoe, "Miscegenation Law, Court Cases, and Ideologies of "Race" in Twentieth-Century America," in Martha Hodes (ed.) *Sex, Love, Race: Crossing Boundaries in North American History*, (New York, New York University Press, 1999), pp. 464-490. On Virginia's Racial Integrity Act of 1924 see Barbara Bair, "Remapping the Black/White Body: Sexuality, Nationalism, and Biracial Antimiscegenation Activism in 1920s Virginia," in Martha Hodes (ed.) *Sex, Love, Race: Crossing Boundaries in North American History*, (New York, New York University Press, 1999), pp. 399-419.

race which underlie those attitudes in the United States. Constance Backhouse plays a similar role in Canada, using court cases to interrogate the links between gender and 'race' as it was understood and perceived historically.¹¹² Likewise, the substantial scholarship of Ann Laura Stoler on the tensions and contradictions of colonial racial policy in Southeast Asia positions such legislation as gender, class and race-specific.¹¹³

Like the United States, Australia has a history of legislative restriction on intermarriage and not surprisingly, the scholarship pertaining to intermarriage in such settings focuses upon the rule of law and policy, in particular the policy of assimilation carried out over the twentieth century. The first half of the twentieth century was a period when the policy of removal of children of mixed descent into institutions and homes took place and has given rise to what is known as the 'Stolen Generation'. Such is the dominance of this policy in recent historical investigation in Australia that an issue of the journal *Aboriginal History* in 2001 was devoted to its exploration. It was in these decades that eugenic concerns for the quality and purity of the 'white race' was at its height in Britain and its dominions, and inevitably the 'half-caste' was a target of government policy centred on assimilation, 'blood' and appearance. In a context of racial fear, the 1930s witnessed the strengthening of laws in many Australian states governing sexual relations and intermarriage between Aborigines and Europeans.¹¹⁴

There is a particular emphasis in the Australian feminist literature on the impacts of the policy of institutionalization, and the ways in which assimilation played out on mission stations and in group homes upon Aboriginal girls and women.¹¹⁵ In Australia, as the work of Marilyn Lake, Patricia Grimshaw and Fiona

¹¹² Constance Backhouse, *Colour-Coded: A Legal History of Racism in Canada, 1900-1950*, (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1999).

¹¹³ Ann Laura Stoler, "Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Gender, Race and Morality in Colonial Asia," in Micaela di Leonardo (ed.) *Gender at the Crossroads of Knowledge: Feminist Anthropology in the Postmodern Era*, (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1991), p. 85.

¹¹⁴ Richard Broome, *Aboriginal Australians: Black Responses to White Dominance 1877-2001*, (Sydney, Allen and Unwin, 2001, third edition), p. 166.

¹¹⁵ See *Aboriginal History*, 25, 2001. Christine Choo, "The role of the Catholic missionaries at Beagle Bay in the removal of Aboriginal children from their families in the Kimberley region from the 1890s,"

Paisley illustrates, 'half-caste' women were taken up as a cause by political, social and moral feminist reformers in the early twentieth century.¹¹⁶ While bringing the voices of Aboriginal women to bear upon Australian history, such scholarship nevertheless still centres white women in narratives of nation.

At the same time, there is a growing literature in Australia on the impact of cultural interaction in Aboriginal communities. John Morris's *The Tiwi* examines the long-term impacts of culture contact with 'outsiders' in this community.¹¹⁷ Lyndall Ryan's *Aboriginal Tasmanians* includes an examination of the cultural impact of the sealers upon Tasmanian Aborigines. Likewise, Nikki Henningham focuses on interracial marriage in the state of Queensland over the period 1890 to 1920, examining the choices of Aboriginal women and white men to marry despite restrictive legislation.¹¹⁸ This literature reflects the federal system of governance in Australia and as a consequence the different ways that assimilation policies impacted upon aboriginal communities. In fact, the studies of culture contact in Australia seem more bound to place than in New Zealand.

A great deal of literature from North America and Britain dealing with the interracial experience is located firmly within a sociological perspective with brief

Aboriginal History, 21, 1997, pp. 14-29. Suzanne Parry, "Identifying the Process: The Removal of 'Half-Caste' Children from Aboriginal Mothers," *Aboriginal History*, 19, 1-2, 1995, pp. 141-153.

¹¹⁶ Patricia Grimshaw, Marilyn Lake, Ann McGrath and Marian Quartly, *Creating a Nation, 1788-1990*, (Melbourne, Penguin, 1996), p. 1. Fiona Paisley, "White Women in the Field: feminism, cultural relativism and Aboriginal rights, 1920-1937," *Journal of Australian Studies*, 52, 1997, pp. 113-125. Fiona Paisley, "Borderlands: Anglo-Australian Women Theorise 'Culture Clash', 1920s-1930s," in Patricia Grimshaw and Diane Kirkby (eds.) *Dealing With Difference: Essays in Gender, Culture and History*, (Melbourne, History Department, University of Melbourne, 1997), pp. 107-117. Fiona Paisley, *Loving Protection? Australian Feminism and Aboriginal Women's Rights 1919-1939*, (Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 2000). Ann McGrath (ed.) *Contested Ground: Australian Aborigines under the British Crown*, (St Leonard's, Allen and Unwin, 1995). Alison Holland, "Wives and Mothers Like Ourselves? Exploring White Women's Intervention in the Politics of Race, 1920s-1940s," *Australian Historical Studies*, 32, 117, 2001, pp. 322-333. Marilyn Lake, "Frontier Feminism and the Marauding White Man: Australia, 1890s to 1940s," in Ruth Roach Pierson and Nupur Chaudhuri (eds.) *Nation, empire, colony: Historicizing Gender and Race*, (Indiana, Indiana University Press, 1998), pp. 94-105.

¹¹⁷ John Morris, *The Tiwi: From Isolation to Cultural Change. A History of Encounters Between an Island People and Outside Forces*, (Darwin, Northern Territory University Press, 2001). Also see Irynej Skira, "'I hope you will be my friend': Tasmanian Aborigines in the Furneaux Group in the nineteenth-century – population and land tenure," *Aboriginal History*, 21, 1997, pp.30-45.

¹¹⁸ Lyndall Ryan, *The Aboriginal Tasmanians*, (St. Leonard's, Allen and Unwin, 1996). Nikki Henningham, "'Due Consideration and Kindness': Interracial Marriage in North Queensland, 1890-1920," in Joy Damousi and Katherine Ellinghaus (eds.) *Citizenship, Women and Social Justice: International Historical Perspectives*, (Melbourne, University of Melbourne, 1999), pp. 61-70.

recourse to historical contexts. Much of this literature deals with the everyday lived experiences of persons of mixed descent, highlighting the way in which they straddle two worlds, and explores their lives for meaning about the social construction of 'race' and race relations. Quite often the authors of this literature are of mixed ancestry, articulating the very personal dimension of the 'mixed race' experience. Jayne O. Ifekwunigwe standpointises her dual heritage in order to engage with theories of hybridity, belonging and identity politics in contemporary Britain while Gretchen Gerzina places black migrations to Britain into a historical context.¹¹⁹ An edited book by Maria Root includes studies that range from legislative restrictions in the United States, to racial classification, and to investigating the social construction of 'race' in everyday life.¹²⁰ The collected essays in David Parker and Miri Song's *Rethinking 'Mixed Race'* point to the multiplicity of multi-ethnic experiences in a range of localities, noting the need to look not only at exclusion from spaces but also at the places where those of mixed descent do 'fit'.¹²¹

Given the emphasis in postcolonial scholarship on zones, borders and frontiers as spaces of contact, conflict and contestation, it is unsurprising that geography, 'race' and space are intermeshed in analysis of interracial relationships. In such literature, zones of contact are constructed as both physical and cultural. James Tyner argues that while interracial marriages are no longer illegal in the United States, "discrimination against these relationships continues" in the "everyday negotiation of public spaces."¹²² Tyner's study of the spatiality of gender, 'race' and sexuality is explored through everyday life experiences in public spaces, which he argues are also contested spaces, and hence the site of individual agency. After emancipation,

¹¹⁹ Jayne O. Ifekwunigwe, *Scattered Belongings*, (London, Routledge, 1999). Gretchen Holbrook Gerzina (ed.) *Black Victorians, Black Victoriana*, (New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press, 2003).

¹²⁰ See Maria P. P. Root (ed.) *The Multiracial Experience: Racial Borders as the New Frontier*, (California, Sage, 1996). Also see Paul R. Spickard, *Mixed Blood: Intermarriage and Ethnic Identity in Twentieth-Century America*, (Wisconsin, University of Wisconsin Press, 1989).

¹²¹ See Minelle Mahtani, "'I'm a Blonde-haired Blue-eyed Black Girl': Mapping Mobile Paradoxical Spaces among Multi-ethnic women in Toronto, Canada," in David Parker and Miri Song, *Rethinking 'Mixed Race'*, (London, Pluto Books, 2001), pp. 173-190.

¹²² James A. Tyner, "Narrating interracial relations and the negotiation of public spaces," *Environment and Planning D: Environment and Space*, 20, 2002, p. 441.

previously limited public spaces became open to freed slaves thereby bringing peoples into conflict over the question of racial identity and social/spatial relations. The outcome of this conflict was the institution of a range of laws designed to restrict the social and spatial movement of African-Americans, including a restriction on marrying whites, especially women.¹²³ Racial policies were “specifically designed to reinforce white supremacy and patriarchal relations” and are underpinned by spatial segregation, which played out as Tyner illustrates in everyday activities, including courtship.¹²⁴ In the context of the United States, interracial relationships epitomised a threatening combination of race, sex and gender that impeded the negotiation of, and movement within, public spaces.

Stoler also notes how the children of interracial marriage impinge upon questions of whiteness, citizenship, belonging and nationality. As such, they represented not an external but an internal danger within the ‘interior frontier’.¹²⁵ Drawing upon postcolonial theory, a recasting of the notion of frontier beyond a physical locality to include a political, social and cultural site of dialogue, conflict and contact has taken place. Stoler posits the frontier as consisting of internal territories within which the individual engages and constructs local as well as national identities.¹²⁶ One of the internal frontiers that Stoler identifies as crucial to defining morality and identity is interracial relationships and marriage. The notion of the ‘frontier’ in settler societies has been recently revised and extended in an edited collection of essays seeking to underscore the ever shifting, multiple and fragmentary character of spaces of contact.¹²⁷ Revision of the notion of the ‘frontier’ has also extended to include the British encounter with indigenous peoples in North America, but Daunton and Halpern argue that the review of the ‘zone of contact’ in national

¹²³ Ibid., p. 444. This is also noted by Kathy Peiss, “Love Across the Color Line,” in Helen Leftkowitz Horowitz and Kathy Peiss (eds.) *Love Across the Color Line: The Letters of Alice Hanley to Channing Lewis*, (Amherst, University of Massachusetts Press, 1996), p. 57.

¹²⁴ Tyner, p. 445.

¹²⁵ Stoler, 1997, p. 199.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ See Lynette Russell (ed.) *Colonial frontiers: Indigenous-European encounters in settler societies*, (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2001).

histories presents a danger in that “connections and comparisons are often missed between different parts of the world and with the metropole.”¹²⁸

Strikingly, intermarriage has rarely been placed “into the larger colonial context.”¹²⁹ It has been only recently that comparative work on intermarriage has been produced by Pat Grimshaw on the Australian state of Victoria and on New Zealand, and by Katherine Ellinghaus on white women who married ‘out’ in Australia and North America. Ellinghaus has brought to light previously unmentioned and hidden aspects of interracial liaisons in Australia and the United States.¹³⁰ In comparing intermarriage in Victoria, Australia and New Zealand, Patricia Grimshaw argues that “interracial sexuality and interracial marriages are significant indicators of colonizing white societies’ management strategies of subject groups.”¹³¹ Any scholar working in the field of marriage and sexuality in the colonial context, however, needs to take account of the various ways in which interracial marriage played out in various contexts. Indeed, states Grimshaw, there is a “need for careful historical specificity in the task of describing the impact of interracial marriages.”¹³² Grimshaw does so through the life experiences of two women, one Aboriginal and the other Māori, arguing that the respective government policies in Victoria and New Zealand shaped these women’s lives in very different ways. Grimshaw’s work and Ellinghaus’ scholarship on intermarriage move to unite the personal stories of the colonial experience with those of colonial regimes and policies.

The fact that intermarriage occupies a marginal position in the history of the colonial experience in New Zealand is a reflection of the way in which the practice of marriage is neglected in the historiography. New Zealand scholars have rarely explored courtship, love and marriage. In 1986, Raewyn Dalziel stated that when it

¹²⁸ Martin Dauntton and Rick Halpern (eds.) *Empire and Others: British Encounters with Indigenous Peoples, 1600-1850*, (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), p. 3.

¹²⁹ Sylvia Van Kirk, “From “marrying-in” to “marrying-out”: changing patterns of aboriginal/non-aboriginal marriage in colonial Canada,” *Frontiers*, 23, 3, 2002, p. 1.

¹³⁰ Katherine Ellinghaus, “Margins of acceptability: class, education, and interracial marriage in Australia and North America,” *Frontiers*, 23, 3, 2002, pp. 55-75.

¹³¹ Patricia Grimshaw, “Interracial marriages and colonial regimes in Victoria and Aotearoa/New Zealand,” *Frontiers*, 23, 3, 2002, p. 12.

¹³² *Ibid.*

comes to love “historians are cautious in engaging with this topic.”¹³³ Marriage is rendered visible in Sandra’s Coney’s *Standing in the Sunshine* and *I Do*, Charlotte Macdonald and Frances Porter have illuminated colonial women’s voices on marriage, while colonial marriage patterns in Canterbury have come under the attention of Keith Pickens.¹³⁴ The area in which marriage is most visible is in the study of social mobility, where marriage records rather than the subject of marriage itself, are employed as part of a methodological landscape.¹³⁵ While the work of Dalziel, Macdonald and Porter, Coney, and Pickens provides the basis for further work on marriage patterns and courtship in colonial New Zealand, the nature of marriage in Māori culture and society is less visible.¹³⁶ It is within this historiography that the small body of work on intermarriage in New Zealand has developed.

There is a growing scholarship on courtship, marriage and love between interracial couples in the United States.¹³⁷ A personalized approach to the dynamics of interracial love is reflected in the edited work of Helen Horowitz and Kathy Peiss based on the love letters between a working-class Irish Catholic woman and a black man. For these authors, the letters brought voices to bear upon “love across the color line.”¹³⁸ For Peiss, these love letters challenge the abstract notions of gender, class

¹³³ Raewyn Dalziel, “‘Making us one’: courtship and marriage in colonial New Zealand,” *Turnbull Library Record*, 19, 1, p. 7.

¹³⁴ Sandra Coney (ed.) *Standing in the Sunshine: a history of New Zealand Women since they won the Vote*, (Auckland, Viking, 1993). Sandra Coney, *I Do: 125 Years of Weddings in New Zealand*, (Auckland, Hodder Moa Beckett, 1995). Charlotte Macdonald, Merimeri Penfold and Bridget Williams (eds.), *The Book of New Zealand Women*, (Wellington, Bridget Williams Books, 1991). Charlotte Macdonald, *The Vote, the Pill and the Demon Drink: a history of feminist writing in New Zealand, 1869-1993*, (Wellington, Bridget Williams Books, 1993). Frances Porter, Charlotte Macdonald and Tui MacDonald, *My Hand Will Write What My Heart*

Dictates: the unsettled lives of women in nineteenth-century New Zealand as revealed to sisters, family and friends, (Auckland, Auckland University Press, 1996). Keith Pickens, “Marriage Patterns in a Nineteenth-Century British Colonial Population,” *Journal of Family History*, 5, 1980, pp. 180-196.

¹³⁵ See David Pearson, *Johnsonville: Continuity and Change in a New Zealand Township*, (Sydney, Allen and Unwin, 1980) and Lyndon Fraser, “‘The Ties that Bind’: Irish Catholic Testamentary Evidence From Christchurch, 1876-1915,” *New Zealand Journal of History*, 29, 1, 1995, pp. 67-82.

¹³⁶ The exception is the anthropological work of Bruce Biggs, *Maori Marriage: An Essay in Reconstruction*, (Wellington, Reed, 1960).

¹³⁷ See Sarah Elbert, “An Inter-racial Love Story in Fact and Fiction: William and Mary King Allen’s Marriage and Louisa May Alcott’s Tale ‘M.L.’” *History Workshop Journal*, 53, 2002, pp. 17-42; Ellinghaus, 1999, pp. 23-42.

¹³⁸ Helen Leftkowitz Horowitz and Kathy Peiss (eds.) *Love Across the Color Line: The Letters of Alice Hanley to Channing Lewis*, (Amherst, University of Massachusetts Press, 1996), p. 2.

and ‘race’, rendering visible instead the “lived experience in all its complexity and contradiction.”¹³⁹ Likewise, interracial unions between white women and black men in the American South have been given wider attention through the scholarship of Martha Hodes. Using legal records, Hodes traverses the landscape of miscegenation legislation in the south, seeking to examine white responses to illicit sex between white women and black men.¹⁴⁰ Studies of intermarriage through personal stories of love and romance “have complicated our understanding of the way that racial categories are constructed, dismantled and reassembled.”¹⁴¹ In the process of bringing to light previously unheard voices, these scholars are recasting the literature on marriage, ‘race’, sexuality and empire through the voices of both indigenous and white women, at the same time stressing the agency of the historical actors and the specific contexts in which these relationships emerged.

Kāi Tahu Histories

An examination of the processes of social and cultural change at Maitapapa contributes to an understanding of many aspects of Kāi Tahu history and historiography. Kāi Tahu histories, unlike those of other iwi, have been widely recorded, researched and published in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by Pākehā officials and experts in the areas of tradition and myth, patterns of settlement, and inter-tribal conflict.¹⁴² This large scholarship has relied on the willingness of Kāi Tahu elders like Hone Tikao of Rapaki to share their knowledge of tradition and history with amateur historians such as Herries Beattie.¹⁴³ Kāi Tahu

¹³⁹ Peiss, p. 56.

¹⁴⁰ Hodes, 1997.

¹⁴¹ Jacobs, 2002, pp. 29-54.

¹⁴² See Edward Shortland, *The Southern Districts of New Zealand: A journal with passing notices of the customs of the Aborigines*, (London, Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1851). Herries Beattie, *Maori place-names of Otago*, (Dunedin, Otago Daily Times and Otago Witness Company, 1944). Herries Beattie, *Our southernmost Maoris*, (Christchurch, Cadsonbury Press, 1994 edition). James Herries Beattie, *Traditional lifeways of the Southern Maori*, (Dunedin, University of Otago Press, 1994). J. W. Stack, *South Island Maoris: a sketch of their history and legendary lore*, (Christchurch, Whitcombe and Tombs, 1898). W.A. Taylor, *Lore and history of the South Island Maori*, (Christchurch, Bascands, 1952).

¹⁴³ Herries Beattie, *Tikao Talks: traditions and tales*, (Dunedin, Reed, 1939).

customs, traditions, place names and general ethnographic writings, which enable one to build a picture of Kāi Tahu society in the nineteenth century, occupy a significant proportion of the scholarship. The most extensive publications in this respect are by Herries Beattie, James Stack and W. A. Taylor, while there is also a small literature on missionary activity in the southern regions, detailing the work and activity of James Watkin, Johannes Wohlers and Charles Creed.¹⁴⁴ Oral traditions recorded in Kāi Tahu tribal manuscripts are now available to a wider audience, both academic and general, through the thought-provoking work of Kāi Tahu historian Te Maire Tau.¹⁴⁵

A large part of the literature on Kāi Tahu history is concerned, not surprisingly, with the question of their relationship to the land and land rights, written by both Kāi Tahu and Pākehā. Atholl Anderson, Bill Dacker and Harry Evison are three scholars who have published on Kāi Tahu history and the Kāi Tahu colonial experience.¹⁴⁶ All three scholars have contributed substantially to the understanding of the Kāi Tahu past, especially the nineteenth century. Dacker has moved beyond the nineteenth century taking a social history approach to an examination of the continued importance of Kāi Tahu in Otago in the twentieth century. Evison has contributed significantly to an understanding of the process of colonization in the South Island through a detailed study of the history of the land purchases in Kāi Tahu territory between the period 1844 to 1864. In one of the most significant recent contributions to Kāi Tahu history, Atholl Anderson's *The Welcome of Strangers* takes an

¹⁴⁴ Beattie, 1954. Beattie, 1994. Sheila Natusch, *Brother Wohlers: A Biography of J. F. H. Wohlers of Ruapuke*, (Christchurch, Caxton Press, 1992, second edition). Stack, 1898. Taylor, 1952. T. A. Pybus, *Maori and Missionary: Early Christian Missions in the South Island of New Zealand*, (Wellington, Reed, 1954).

¹⁴⁵ See Rawiri Te Maire Tau, *Ngā Pikitūroa o Ngāi Tahu: The Oral Traditions of Ngāi Tahu*, (Dunedin, University of Otago Press, 2003) and Te Maire Tau, Keynote Address, "Blurring Boundaries: Rethinking History", New Zealand Historical Association Conference, University of Otago, Dunedin, 28 November 2003.

¹⁴⁶ Atholl Anderson, *When all the moa ovens grew cold: nine centuries of changing fortune for the southern Maori*, (Dunedin, Otago Heritage Books, 1983). Atholl Anderson, *The Welcome of Strangers*, (Dunedin, University of Otago Press, 1998). Bill Dacker, *The pain and the love = Te mamae me te aroha: a history of Kai Tahu Whanui in Otago, 1844-1994*, (Dunedin, University of Otago Press, 1994). Harry Evison, *Te Wai Pounamu: the greenstone island: a history of the southern Maori during the European colonialization of New Zealand*, (Wellington, Aoraki Press/Ngai Tahu Maori Trust Board, 1993). Harry Evison, *The long dispute: Maori land rights and European colonisation in southern New Zealand*, (Christchurch, Canterbury University Press, 1997).

ethnohistorical approach to the Kāi Tahu past encompassing Kāi Tahu migrations to the South Island, the changing Kāi Tahu political landscape, and details the impact of contact from the late eighteenth century in the form of sealers and later whalers upon Kāi Tahu communities. In highlighting intermarriage as a significant characteristic of Kāi Tahu's contact history, Anderson demonstrates that the culture contact experienced in the South Island was very different to that experienced elsewhere in New Zealand and has played a significant role in shaping Kāi Tahu identity in the nineteenth century. This is recognized by Kate Riddell who argues that the early history of culture contact in the South Island means that the "South Island presents an important case study in intermarriage and the production of 'half caste' children."¹⁴⁷

In written histories of Kāi Tahu, the literature on intermarriage is fragmentary, reflecting the fact that there have been remarkably few major studies on this aspect of culture contact in New Zealand. This lack of scholarship is surprising given that intermarriage is a significant component of Kāi Tahu history and modern tribal identity. One has to look to local and family histories to find discussion of intermarriage in the South Island. Only the Haberfield, Kelly, Bates, Howell, Newton, Acker, Spencer and Thomas family histories have been published, but this is not a reflection of the widespread intermarriage that took place in the southern districts during the nineteenth century.¹⁴⁸ While these family histories centre the white men, they are nevertheless a useful source in which to examine the lives of the Kāi Tahu women who engaged in intermarriage.

¹⁴⁷ Riddell, 1996, p. 33.

¹⁴⁸ Lew Dawson, *Taproots Revisited: the whakapapa of Wharetutu and George Newton, 1828 to the present*, (Invercargill, Taproots Research, 1986). Eva Wilson, *Hakoro ki te iwi: the story of Captain Howell and his family*, (Oreputi, 1976). *Thomas-Tukuwaha: a record of the families 1834-1984*, (Hamilton, G. N. Smith, 1985). *Acker Family, 1834-1984*, (Invercargill, Acker Family Reunion Committee, 1984). Robert Kelly, *John Kelly, sealer, whaler, trader, boatman: piecing together the jigsaw of an early Southland pioneer*, (Waiwera, Weranui Publications, 2001). Linda J. Scott, Finlay Bayne and Michael J. F. O'Connor, *Nathaniel Bates of Riverton: his families and descendants*, (Christchurch, Bates Reunion Committee, 1994). Rex Evans, Adriene Evans and Janet Old, *A Haberfield genealogy*, (Auckland, Evagean Publishers, 1996). Georgina Ellis, *Time and Tide: Ramblings, Recollections and Reminiscences of the Spencer Family*, (Invercargill, Georgina Ellis, 2000).

There is a comparatively more extensive literature on published Kāi Tahu whakapapa, as well as individual biographies of Kāi Tahu figures. Such literature, like family histories, does allow a basis for research on the presence of Kāi Tahu women in a history of culture contact.¹⁴⁹ Moreover, local histories such as Basil Howard's *Rakiura*, Eva Wilson's *Titi Heritage*, Joan MacIntosh's *A History of Fortrose*, along with the works of Peter Entwisle, Peter Tremewan, John Hall-Jones, and Gavin McLean, while an indication of the piecemeal literature on intermarriage, nevertheless provide a way in which to understand culture contact at the local level in the South Island.¹⁵⁰ Such literature reveals that the impact of colonialism was felt not only at a global level but also at the local and familial. Indeed, colonialism, according to Nicholas Thomas, "consisted of more than relations between Europe and distant regions. . . . Colonial relationships were also made through direct contacts and local interactions."¹⁵¹ In short, the local is also a site of cultural dialogue alongside the national stage that has dominated New Zealand culture contact literature.

Intermarriage and modern Kāi Tahu tribal, regional and personal identities are intricately linked. Bill Dacker has touched upon intermarriage in his account of the social and cultural costs of the colonial experience in Otago,¹⁵² while Hana O'Regan indicates that colonization re-orientated Kāi Tahu identities. O'Regan has linked early

¹⁴⁹ Jane Thomson (ed.) *Southern people: a dictionary of Otago Southland biography* (Dunedin, Longacre Press and Dunedin City Council, 1998). Russell Caldwell, *Whakapapa Ngai Tahu: a guide to enrolment and research*, (Christchurch, Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu, 1996). Rawiri Te Maire Tau, "Nga Pikituroa o Ngai Tahu: The Oral Traditions of Ngai Tahu," (PhD, University of Canterbury, 1997). D. A. Laracy, "Tame Parata: South Island spokesman," (MA, University of Otago, 1980). Bill Dacker, "H. K. Taiaroa and Te Kerema: Crisis and Leadership in the Nineteenth Century," in M. Reilly and J. Thomson (eds.) *When the Waves Rolled in Upon Us: Essays in Nineteenth-Century Maori History*, (Dunedin, University of Otago Press, 1999), pp. 75-91. F. G. Hall-Jones, *King of the Bluff: the life and times of Tuhawaiki (Bloody Jack)*, (Invercargill, Southland Historical Committee, 1943). Buddy Mikaere, *Te Maiharoa and the promised land*, (Auckland, Heinemann, 1988).

¹⁵⁰ Joan MacIntosh, *A History of Fortrose*, (Invercargill, Times Printing, 1975). Eva Wilson, *Titi Heritage: The story of the Muttonbird Islands*, (Invercargill, Craig Printing, 1979). Peter Entwisle, *Behold the Moon: The European Occupation of the Dunedin District 1770-1848*, (Dunedin, Port Daniel Press, 1998). Peter Tremewan, *Selling Otago: A French buyer, 1840 Maori Sellers, 1844*, (Dunedin, Otago Heritage Books, 1994). John Hall-Jones, *The South explored*, (Wellington, Reed, 1979). John Hall-Jones, *Bluff Harbour*, (Bluff, Southland Harbour Board, 1976). John Hall-Jones, *Early Fiordland*, (Wellington, Reed, 1968). John Christie, *History of Waikouaiti*, (Christchurch, Christchurch Press Company, 1929). Basil Howard, *Rakiura*, (Dunedin, Reed, 1940). Gavin McLean, *Moeraki: 150 years of net and plough share*, (Dunedin, Otago Heritage Books, 1986).

¹⁵¹ Nicholas Thomas, *Possessions: Indigenous Art/Colonial Culture*, (London, Thames and Hudson, 1999), p. 9.

¹⁵² Dacker, 1994.

intermarriage with modern constructions of Kāi Tahu identity as the ‘white tribe’. She argues that not only is Kāi Tahu identity undergoing constant change, but that it is built upon a number of “historical circumstances and events in Kai Tahu history such as the Ngati Toa raids of the 1820s and 1830s, the alienation of Kai Tahu land and lack of access to resources from the 1840s, and the individualization of Maori land title and subsequent denial of tribal legal status.”¹⁵³ Simbo Ojinmah, in her discussion of the histories of the Kāi Tahu women of Otago, also touches on intermarriage as a theme of these women’s life histories, but does not infer the significance, as in the case of Dacker and O’Regan, of intermarriage to the construction of Kāi Tahu identities.¹⁵⁴ While Margaret Armstrong’s work explores the historical and sociological forces at play in creating contemporary Kāi Tahu identities, it is centred clearly on the last 30 years of the twentieth century.¹⁵⁵ For Kāi Tahu, intermarriage has significantly altered Kāi Tahu whakapapa and identities, which deserves further investigation in the period between the late nineteenth century and the mid twentieth century.

Given the preoccupation of Kāi Tahu with its Claim against the Crown it is unsurprising that the nineteenth century tends to dominate Kāi Tahu histories, with only the first few decades of the twentieth century coming under academic scrutiny. However, land alienation and cultural poverty are not only located in the nineteenth century but continued to define many communities’ colonial experience well into the twentieth century. With the settlement of the Kāi Tahu Claim under the 1999 Deed of Settlement, one hopes to see a new focus on Kāi Tahu histories and pathways in the twentieth century, including intermarriage. Given the general trend in the wider New Zealand scholarship to concentrate on intermarriage in North Island cities in the late

¹⁵³ Hana O’Regan, *Ko Tahu, Ko Au*, (Christchurch, Horomaka Press, 2001), p. 27. Ngati Toa, led by Te Rauparaha, attacked pā located at Kaiapoi and on Banks Peninsula in 1831.

¹⁵⁴ Simbo Ojinmah, “The Maori Women of the Otago District, 1874-1936”, (MA, University of Otago, 1989).

¹⁵⁵ Margaret Jocelyn Armstrong, “Maoris in the South Island of New Zealand: A Study of Change in an Ethnic Role System,” (PhD, Anthropology, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1971). M. Jocelyn Armstrong, “Maori Identity in the South Island of New Zealand: Ethnic Identity Development in a Migration Context,” *Oceania*, 57, 3, 1987, pp. 195-216.

twentieth century, it is not surprising that the South Island and Kāi Tahu are a forgotten land and peoples. This neglect reflects a strong belief that intermarriage took its toll on Kāi Tahu in the nineteenth century and remains a concern of this period. As this thesis shows, intermarriage was indeed a nineteenth century phenomenon for Kāi Tahu communities but many did not experience the full effects of intermarriage until the twentieth century. This is the context in which the loss of kāika and community at Maitapapa in the 1920s outlined in the present study should be considered. Other kāika survived the ravages of colonization but began to experience widespread intermarriage post-urbanization in the second half of the twentieth century. This thesis contributes to an understanding of intermarriage as an ongoing zone of contact for Kāi Tahu.

Conclusion

In order to more clearly understand the complexities of intermarriage as part of the colonial experience there is a need to move towards more place-bound histories of culture contact in New Zealand. A useful way in which to interrogate the colonial encounter at the micro-level is through the application of feminist and postcolonial theory that is grounded in historical specificity. Through a case study of the small Kāi Tahu community of Maitapapa, it is possible to illustrate the ways in which this district acts as a microcosm of Kāi Tahu and colonial history and thus interrogate the ways in which the colonial experience played out amongst one community, differentiated along the lines of gender and narrated through the memories of descendants.

2

ENCOUNTERS

Introduction

The focus of this chapter is the first phase of intermarriage between Kāi Tahu women and western whalers at Maitapapa. These intermarriage patterns were framed by two cultural encounters. First, the encounter between Kāi Tahu and the whalers resident at Moturata Station and second, Kāi Tahu interaction with missionaries in the southern districts from 1840. The chapter begins with the establishment of the whaling station on Moturata Island in 1839, and an investigation of the social and economic role of the whaling station in the Taieri region. It ends with the development of a mixed descent population at Maitapapa by the 1850s, a direct outcome of intermarriage between Kāi Tahu women and whalers from the 1830s. The bridge between these two sections is provided by a discussion of the marriages of two Kāi Tahu women, Patahi and Koronaki/Caroline Brown, who exemplify the shifting nature and varied experience of intermarriage of two women with strong links to Maitapapa. Their stories offer an opportunity to explore the two types of intermarriage that has been proposed took place in the first half of nineteenth century New Zealand. Initially there was intermarriage as alliance: a process controlled by Māori, whereby Pākehā men married into, and lived within, Māori communities; as opposed to a later form of intermarriage, whereby Māori married Pākehā: a process that was state and church-controlled and constituted, according to Kate Riddell, physical and cultural absorption.¹⁵⁶ The marriages of these two Kāi Tahu women provide an opportunity to discuss the shift from customary marriage to church controlled and defined intermarriage, in which assimilation was a defining feature.

¹⁵⁶ Kate Riddell, "A 'Marriage' of the Races? Aspects of Intermarriage, Ideology and Reproduction on the New Zealand Frontier," (MA, Victoria University, 1996), p. 10.

Moturata

Shore whaling stations in southern New Zealand were ‘contact zones’. While the stations were economic units engaged in the capture of whales and the production of oil they were also social spaces where a largely male Pākehā population came into contact with Kāi Tahu. As social spaces of contact the numerous stations that were established along the Kāi Tahu coastline were places where Kāi Tahu women and male newcomers entered into interracial relationships. However, whaling literature in New Zealand, and overseas, is dominated by white men, rather than the indigenous women they married. The content of these histories is often economically derived, focusing on capital and industry. In gender terms, much of the New Zealand whaling literature is characterized by the association of the sea with masculinity. Jock Phillips and James Belich have both recently written about whaling and whalers in terms of culture and behaviour.¹⁵⁷ Phillips portrays frontier life as rugged and as a ‘man’s country’, with whalers making up one of the male groups of pioneers who exploited the resources of the land and sea. Similarly, Belich, in writing about ‘crew culture’, a particularly international and sea-based set of behaviours and characteristics, constructs whalers and crews as a male domain centred on violence and drinking. These cultural constructions of whaling and whalers have entrenched the androcentric mythology surrounding whaling life.

Women’s significant roles in New Zealand whaling communities have been highlighted by Heather Heberley who illustrates the racial dynamics produced by whaling communities in the Marlborough Sounds.¹⁵⁸ Joan Druett’s consideration of the relationship between Pākehā women and whaling is restricted to their role as whalers’ wives, often conforming to the traditional androcentric and celebratory characteristic of whaling history in New Zealand.¹⁵⁹ Examining the American context,

¹⁵⁷ Jock Phillips, *A Man's Country? The Image of the Pakeha Male - a History* (Auckland, Penguin, rev ed, 1996). James Belich, *Making Peoples: A History of the New Zealanders from Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century*, (Auckland, Penguin, 1996).

¹⁵⁸ Heather Heberley, *Riding with Whales: Stories of Great Sounds Women* (Queen Charlotte Sound, Cape Catley, 1999).

¹⁵⁹ Joan Druett, *Petticoat Whalers: Whaling Wives at Sea* (Auckland: Collins, 1991).

Margaret Creighton takes a social history approach in assessing how whalers reacted to women, and how seafaring acted as a rite of passage into manhood, and she considers the ideals of family and marriage held by whalers.¹⁶⁰ Nonetheless, Creighton still standpoint men and masculinity in her analysis of the whaling industry in America. Nevertheless, the work of Creighton and Lisa Norling does represent the emergence of an international literature on women, gender and seafaring.¹⁶¹

In New Zealand, the question of the impact of whalers on Māori society has been a controversial and much debated issue in New Zealand historiography. Harry Morton, Robert McNab, Don Grady and Rhys Richards are the most prolific and recognized authors of New Zealand whaling history.¹⁶² Their work reflects the general androcentric construction of whaling in at times romantic and celebratory terms. Such scholarship tends to underestimate the impact of whaling on Māori communities. In particular, the issue of intermarriage is passed over, a reflection of the tendency to neglect or marginalize the interaction of whalers with Māori women. The ways in which whaling had a gendered impact on the social and spatial dynamics of Māori communities thus remain to be explored. This neglect is surprising given that a substantial section of the scholarship is devoted to the difference between shore whaling and deep-sea whaling. Deep-sea whalers targeted the sperm whale and visited ports for brief periods. Shore whalers targeted the right whale for its oil and whalebone during a season that lasted from May to October.¹⁶³ They founded stations

¹⁶⁰ Margaret S. Creighton, *Rites and Passages: The Experience of American Whaling, 1830-1870*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1995), p.162.

¹⁶¹ Margaret S. Creighton and Lisa Norling (eds.) *Iron Men, Wooden Women: Gender and Seafaring in the Atlantic World, 1700-1920* (Baltimore, John Hopkins University Press, 1996). Lisa Norling, *Captain Ahab Had a Wife: New England Women and the Whalefishery* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 2000).

¹⁶² Robert McNab, *The Old Whaling Days: A History of Southern New Zealand from 1830 to 1840*, (Christchurch, Whitcombe and Tombs, 1913); Harry Morton, *The Whale's Wake*, (Dunedin, University of Otago Press, 1982); Rhys Richards, *'Murihiku Re-Viewed': A revised history of Southern New Zealand from 1804 to 1844*, (Wellington, The Hand-in-Press, 1995); Don Grady, *Sealers and Whalers in New Zealand Waters*, (Auckland, Reed, 1986).

¹⁶³ On the place of whaling in the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century economy of New Zealand see Jim McAloon, "Resource frontiers, environment and settler capitalism: 1769-1860," in Eric Pawson and Tom Brooking (eds.) *Environmental Histories of New Zealand*, (Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 52-68.

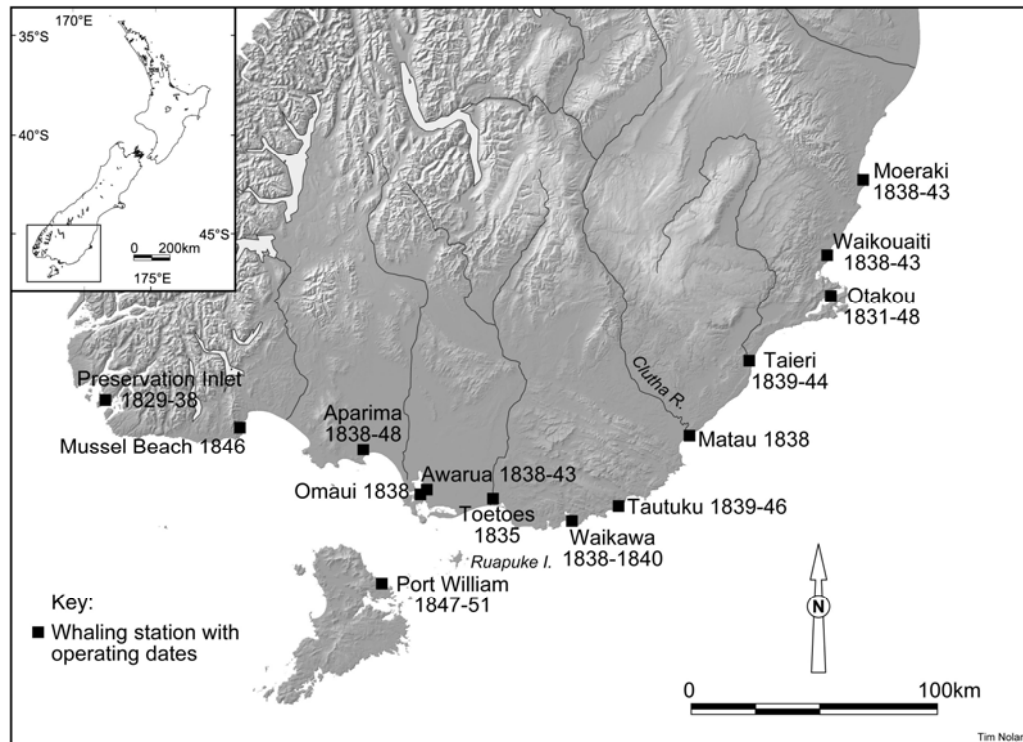
on the land, near Māori settlements, building up infrastructure in the form of houses, gardens, boats, landing sites and stations. Thus, they had a more intensive interaction with local Māori. Nevertheless, this interaction has rarely been explored in depth.

The scholarship of Morton, McNab, Grady and Richards illustrates how Cook Strait, the Bay of Islands and Foveaux Strait tends to dominate whaling history in New Zealand. Morton refers to Moturata only briefly. McNab limits his history of whaling to southern New Zealand and the Cook Strait in the period 1830 to 1840. With his focus on ‘whaling characters’, Don Grady is the most populist of these authors, while Richards is the most prolific. In these works, and in the more general whaling history of New Zealand, Taieri is positioned as a small whaling centre and is, therefore, often overshadowed and marginalized by a preference for the larger stations. This pattern has been noted by Rhys Richards. He states that, while there is a “voluminous literature on whaling in New Zealand waters,” ranging from the romantic to the highly academic, there “seems to be little or no quantitative analysis of the relevant importance of whalers at various points along the New Zealand coasts and [a] subsequent undue emphasis on some well documented but actually relatively unimportant areas.”¹⁶⁴

The 1820s to the 1830s was a period of transition when the sealing industry was in decline and the shore whaling stations were yet to be fully established. From the early 1830s to the mid 1840s numerous shore whaling stations were established in Foveaux Strait and along the eastern and southern coasts of Te Waipounamu. The stations varied in size and were a significant fixture of the Kāi Tahu landscape for a period of fifteen years. The first shore whaling station was established in 1829 at Preservation Inlet and was managed by Peter Williams. By the late 1830s there were twelve stations established on the southern coast of New Zealand. Trevor Bentley states that the smaller stations, such as Taieri, employed a crew of six to twelve men while the larger stations, such as Otākou and Waikouaiti, employed a crew of up to 40

¹⁶⁴ Rhys Richards, *Whaling and Sealing at the Chatham Islands*, (Canberra, Roebuck Books, 1982), Appendix, p. 2.

men.¹⁶⁵ These men left an indelible mark upon Kāi Tahu, their whakapapa, trade and patterns of settlement.



Map 1: Location Map of Whaling Stations in Otago and Southland

The establishment in 1839 of the whaling station at Moturata Island, located at the mouth of the Taieri River, is significant in that it attracted a more permanent Kāi Tahu population to a non-traditional settlement area. In the shore whaling station era, interior settlements were abandoned in favour of the trading opportunities provided by these stations. Edward Shortland, sub-protector of Aborigines, noted this pattern of settlement on his tour of the Kāi Tahu settlements in 1843-1844. Writing about the whaling establishment of Johnny Jones at Waikouaiti, Shortland stated: “On first establishment of the station, very few natives, by all accounts, resided at Waikouaiti; but they soon increased in number, coming from other parts of the country for the sake of the tobacco, clothing, & c., which they could here obtain in exchange for their

¹⁶⁵ Trevor Bentley, *Pakeha Maori: The extraordinary story of the Europeans who lived as Maori in early New Zealand*, (Auckland, Penguin, 1999), p. 207.

labour, or for pigs and potatoes [sic].”¹⁶⁶ Thus the Kāi Tahu population became concentrated on the coasts of southern New Zealand near these stations, heralding an intensive period of culture contact.

The Moturata Island station, owned by George and Edward Weller, housed a whaling station for only brief periods. The first manager was David Cureton and from the remarks of Otākou storekeeper Octavius Harwood it was fitted out and manned in late 1838, preparing for a fully enabled site in the New Year. The first provisions were sent down in December 1838 and January 1839 with Bradbury and Cureton respectively.¹⁶⁷ The day-to-day working of the whaling station was undertaken by both Pākehā and local Kāi Tahu. In November of 1838, the manager David Cureton “came over from Tyarie [as] one his Mowrays [is] dying”.¹⁶⁸ Further, on November 12 Harwood “received 1 keg salts soap &c. from Tyarie by Native.”¹⁶⁹

Harwood’s journal indicates that while Taieri was a short-lived station it was nevertheless the site of much movement and activity. More importantly, the journal gives glimpses of the names of the men who inhabited these early sites of cultural interaction, such as Cureton, Murray, Bradbury, Whyllie, Apes, Williams, Fern, Brown, Patterson, Russell, Antony, Robinson, Cory, Bowman, Happy, Teoto, Rua Keony, Harris, Morris and Richards, and of their routines. The station was not without teething difficulties. By April 1839, fifteen men on Cureton’s gang “had run away” because “he had set them to work in the rain.”¹⁷⁰ Next month it was reported that two men had been injured by whales, and that another was ill with fever.¹⁷¹ Additional problems were experienced at Taieri in 1839, such as the wreck of the Weller’s schooner the *Dublin Packet* in June and the loss of nine tonnes of oil in September.¹⁷² Nevertheless, the station remained intact, reflected in the details of provisions of rum,

¹⁶⁶ Edward Shortland, *The Southern Districts of New Zealand*, (London, Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1851), p. 115.

¹⁶⁷ 4/12/1838 and 8/1/1839, Harwood Journal, p. 27 and 30, MS-0438/59 (HL).

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 5/11/1838, p. 25.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 12/11/1839, p. 59.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 8/4/1839, p. 37.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 11/5/1839, p. 40.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, 11/6/1839 and 19/9/1839, pp. 43 and 53.

tea, baskets, potatoes, sugar, and beef collected and received in late September, October and November 1839.¹⁷³ Similar comments relating to Taieri were made by Harwood throughout November and December, until 28 December when Mr. Murray “signed an agreement for Tyarie – Mr. Cureton’s hands went on board the Lucy Ann.”¹⁷⁴ The Weller brothers quickly found a new manager for the station in the form of a Mr. King.¹⁷⁵

Despite the return of fifteen tonnes of oil from the Moturata station in October 1840, comments in the Harwood Journal reveal that the timber of the district had become of greater economic significance to the Weller Brothers.¹⁷⁶ The quality and abundance of timber in this district was first noted in 1839. In a letter to George Weller, his brother Edward stated: “I send a sample of pine timber, which is growing at Taiari [sic] and from 50 to 60 feet long, much superior to Otago pine. Banks the carpenter approves of the wood for boat building and that natives say they will assist in getting timber tho [sic] they cannot be depended on.”¹⁷⁷ Despite George Weller’s cynicism, the development of the timber industry was contingent upon the labour of local Kāi Tahu. In November 1840, the Otākou shipyard received 161 pine planks from Taieri sent there for use by the carpenters and pit sawyers in boat building.¹⁷⁸ This added feature of the Taieri economy was reflected in Harwood’s note that “Natives had cut 14 White Pine spars at Tyarie but left them in the bush.”¹⁷⁹ Harwood visited the fishery in December finding it in “a most reckless and unprotected state” and went inland to the lakes where he witnessed the cutting and counting of the logs “by the Natives.”¹⁸⁰ In addition to the 52 logs, Harwood took a survey of what remained of the fishery on the island noting the copper, seven goats, two fowls and

¹⁷³ Ibid., 30/9/1839, 11/10/1839, 13/10/1839, 28/10/1839, 4/11/1839, 7/11/1839, pp. 55-58.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., 28/12/1839, p. 62.

¹⁷⁵ ‘Taieri Island was Early Whaling Station,’ *Evening Star*, 6/10/1962.

¹⁷⁶ 11/10/1840, Harwood Journal, p. 81, MS-0438/50 (HL).

¹⁷⁷ Edward Weller to George Weller, 14 February 1839, MS-0440/05, (HL).

¹⁷⁸ 3/11/1840, 4/11/1840, 12/11/1840, Harwood Journal, pp. 85-87, MS-0438/50 (HL).

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., 4/11/1840, p. 85.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., 8/12/1840 and 9/12/1840, p. 91. ‘Taming the Taieri Plain was no easy task,’ *Otago Daily Times*, 6/4/1985.

one boar pig.¹⁸¹ A second inventory was taken later the same month and it was recorded that by February 1841 “Mr. Murray [was the] only man left on the island.”¹⁸² New hands including the tonguers Russell and Antony and Kāi Tahu crew such as Teoto and Rua Keony with provisions including new oars were sent to the fishery in the same month.¹⁸³

By late 1841 the Weller brothers had abandoned the Moturata whaling station. In late 1843 Edward Shortland found it still uninhabited.¹⁸⁴ In 1844, it was briefly re-established by the trader, whaler and farmer Johnny Jones of Waikouaiti under the management of Tommy Chasland. On a traverse of the lower Taieri in June 1844, New Zealand Company surveyor Frederick Tuckett and his party found the whaling station on Moturata full of activity. Indeed, stated Tuckett: “As we passed along the beach we could see a whale lying on the shore, and the men standing on it cutting off the blubber.”¹⁸⁵ From 1845 published statistical returns from New Zealand whaling stations no longer included Moturata, indicating that the station was abandoned after the 1844 season.¹⁸⁶

The whaling encounter is characterized by a range of interactions and forms of cultural dialogue that are economic, political and social in nature. Whalers and indigenous peoples often inhabited the same terrain and landscapes and depended on each other for survival. Whalers in the Arctic North depended on the Inuit for food and clothing and in whaling season provided much needed labour for the stations.¹⁸⁷ This is certainly true of New Zealand too. At Moturata it is clear in the names listed in Harwood’s journal, and in the activities he recorded, that the relationship between Kāi Tahu and whalers at the station was one of mutual exchange. It is explicit throughout Harwood’s journal that Kāi Tahu engaged in the developing timber industry at lower

¹⁸¹ 10 December 1840, Harwood Journal, p. 91, MS-0438/50 (HL).

¹⁸² 3 February 1841, Harwood Journal, p. 101, MS-0438/50 (HL).

¹⁸³ 8, 9, 10, 11, 15, 20, 21, and 22 February 1841, Harwood Journal, pp. 102-103, MS-0438/50 (HL).

¹⁸⁴ Shortland, p. 169.

¹⁸⁵ 8 June 1844, J. W. Barnicoat Journal, p.62, MS-0440/01 (HL).

¹⁸⁶ Win Parkes and Kath Hislop, *Taieri Mouth and its Surrounding Districts*, (Dunedin, Otago Heritage Books, 1980), p. 10.

¹⁸⁷ Dorothy Harley Eber, *When the Whales Were Up North: Inuit Memories from the Eastern Arctic*, (Kingston, McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1989), p.xii.

Taieri. The whaling stations that were the longest lasting in southern New Zealand (Moeraki, Waikouaiti, Otākou, Bluff and Riverton), depended not just on shelter, abundance of whales, landing places, and a source of fresh water but also on Māori contact as an important part of the economic and social structure of the stations.¹⁸⁸ Thus, the impact of whaling stations can be seen in the nucleation of settlement around its margins. This is noted by Davis who points out that the factors underlying these new patterns of settlement were in force at the Taieri, in the form of potato cultivation from August to March, employment at the station in the whaling season from May to October, and trade with Harwood at Otākou.¹⁸⁹

The impact of the stations on the wider regions in which they were established has been a neglected aspect of the literature on the economy of the whaling station in southern New Zealand.¹⁹⁰ Yet the managers of the whaling stations saw them as a springboard to further economic opportunities. Moturata, although a short-lived station, gave the Weller Brothers the opportunity to investigate the possibilities of agricultural settlement on the Taieri Plain. In an 1839 letter Edward Weller stated:

I have sent a Mr Dalziel in the D. P. [Dublin Packet] to inspect the lands, in order that we may have an agricultural establishment. He is a gentleman from Scotland and bred to the farming. I request you will give him all the information that he may require and show him such attentions as your limited means will admit. He informs me that he is in correspondence with about 20 farmers in Scotland, and should he approve and settle in N. Z. that they would all join him and rent the land we have there on 20 year leases. From what Mr Cureton tells me of Tyari, it would be the most desirable spot. Wheat and barley will be our principal articles of growth. Cureton says that he might get 100 acres of grain in before winter, as all the land requires is the fern burned off and ploughing and harrowing and that the ground is then ready for the grain.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁸ Matthew L. Campbell, "A Preliminary Investigation of the Archaeology of Whaling Stations on the Southern Coast," (MA, University of Otago, 1992), pp. 203-204.

¹⁸⁹ G. F. Davis, "Old Identities and New Iniquities: The Taieri Plain in Otago Province, 1770-1870," (MA, University of Otago, 1974), p. 73.

¹⁹⁰ Peter Coutts, "An approach to the investigation of colonial settlement patterns: whaling in southern New Zealand," *World Archaeology*, 7, 3, 1976, p. 291.

¹⁹¹ Weller cited in Frank Tod, *Whaling in Southern Waters*, (Dunedin, Frank Tod, 1982), p.72.

The small size of the Moturata station made it imperative that a range of trade and resource exploitation be taken up. Indeed, a diverse economy meant the survival of the station for much longer than otherwise might have been the case given the limited numbers of whales caught and tonnes of oil produced. In short, Moturata specifically and whaling stations in general, were engaged in a range of trade activities based upon resource extraction.

Few of the southern whaling stations have survived the rigours of time. It is only the Otākou whaling station and the Moturata station that have left behind an archaeological record, presenting an insight into the internal dynamics of station life.¹⁹² The archaeological evidence reveals that Moturata was indeed a physically, economically and culturally hybrid space and place. Matthew Campbell notes in his archaeological survey of southern whaling sites that Moturata is one of the ‘most visible stations surveyed’. He found a large number of artifacts, including ceramics, glass, iron and sawn bone as well as foundations of both the station try-works and whalers’ huts.¹⁹³ In summarizing the archaeological record of the Taieri Island whaling station, Campbell states that it was “the only one surveyed where both the industrial and domestic elements of the station were in evidence.”¹⁹⁴

These archaeological remains are a reflection of the whaling station as both a ‘resource zone’ and ‘contact zone’. Upon Moturata Island titi was collected, its shores provided space for fishing; its surface was lived upon for short periods; while the presence of wāhi tapu and taoka on the island is evidence of its cultural significance to local Kāi Tahu.¹⁹⁵ Moturata was both a site where resources were gathered and where Kāi Tahu and Pākehā came into contact, transforming the ‘resource zone’ into a ‘contact zone’. From 1839 to 1844, a small group of whalers lived on the island and records reveal that these men had Kāi Tahu wives. In 1844, Frederick Tuckett visited

¹⁹² Coutts, *World Archaeology*, 1976, pp. 291-305.

¹⁹³ Matthew Campbell, “A Site Survey of Whaling Stations on the Southern Coast of the South Island,” *Archaeology in New Zealand*, 36, 3, 1993, p. 140.

¹⁹⁴ Campbell, 1992, p. 55.

¹⁹⁵ Rachel Palmer, “Moturata Island: site protection in action,” *Archaeology in New Zealand*, 40, 3, 1997, p. 197.

the Taieri and noted that it was under the management of Tommy Chasland. Chasland and his Kāi Tahu wife Puna, the sister of Otākou chief Taiaroa, exclaimed Tuckett, “keep a very comfortable fireside, not the less so from the bleak barrenness which surrounds their dwellings; nowhere, perhaps, do twenty Englishmen reside on a spot so comfortless as this naked inaccessible isle.”¹⁹⁶ With the abandonment of the station in 1841 and again in 1844, many of these men briefly settled at Maitapapa with their Kāi Tahu kin, only to disperse following economic opportunities as they arose.

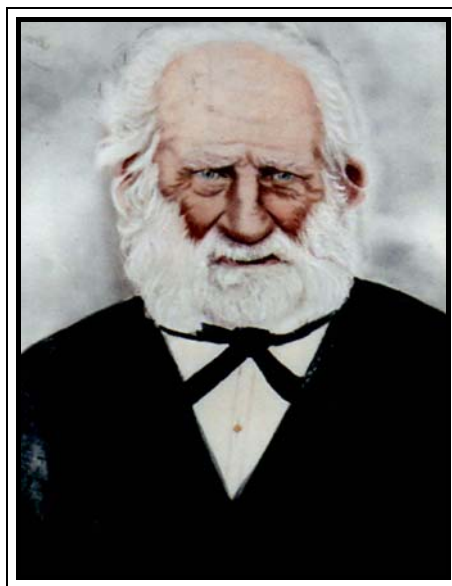


Illustration 1: William Palmer, brother of Edward and former whaler at Tautuku and Moturata. After the abandonment of whaling at Taieri, William settled at Maitapapa with his five daughters, living there until his death in 1903.

Source: Coral Beattie (Personal Collection).

Many of the ex-whalers such as Edward Palmer who settled at Maitapapa had no connection to Moturata, arriving because of kinship ties and economic opportunity. Others, such as James Wybrow, John Kelly and William Russell who worked at the Moturata Station and had previously been at Tautuku, reflect the highly mobile character of the whalers in southern New Zealand. William Palmer, Tommy Chasland, John MacKenzie, James Wybrow and Sam Perkins who all settled at the

¹⁹⁶ Tuckett, cited in Campbell, 1992, p. 48.

lower Taieri for varying periods, were also at the Tautuku whaling station.¹⁹⁷ This mobility further impacted on Kāi Tahu settlement patterns and altered Kāi Tahu demographics. In many communities the result of intermarriage was the loss of a proportion of the female population as women moved with their husbands, and the development of a population of Kāi Tahu men who never married.¹⁹⁸

The whaling period lasted from 1829 to 1850 and was a time when “European influence reached new heights.”¹⁹⁹ The activity at Moturata Whaling Station is indicative of the nature of the whaling encounter in southern New Zealand, one that built upon an already long history of trade contact. While these men married into the indigenous population, they introduced new concepts of trade and commerce and new social habits, including the use of alcohol and tobacco.²⁰⁰ Indeed, tobacco was added to a list of items – pigs, iron tools, clothing, potatoes, and vegetables, sealing and whaling boats²⁰¹ amongst others – contributing to a building picture of social change in Kāi Tahu communities in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Intermarriage: Patahi and Koronaki

Irihāpeti Patahi’s story is a Kāi Tahu woman’s narrative of encounter, illustrating the pattern of culture contact in southern New Zealand. Her story is a unique perspective on the very personal nature of the colonial experience. The significance of Patahi’s account lies in the way it illuminates the agency of a Kāi Tahu woman within the colonial encounter, undermining the typical construct of intermarriage as a form of trade in women’s bodies. Patahi’s marriage to the trader and whaler Edward Palmer exemplifies what Atholl Anderson has referred to as the first phase of intermarriage in southern New Zealand, where the participants were

¹⁹⁷ Tod, p. 71.

¹⁹⁸ See Atholl Anderson, *Race against time*, (Dunedin, University of Otago, 1991).

¹⁹⁹ Peter Coutts, “Merger or Takeover: A Survey of the Effects of Contact Between European and Maori in the Foveaux Strait Region,” *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 78, 4, 1969, p. 506.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 507.

²⁰¹ See Murray A. Bathgate “Maori River and Ocean Going Craft in Southern New Zealand: A Study of Types and Change in Relation to the Physical, Social, and Economic Environment, 1773-1852,” *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 78, 3, 1969, pp. 344-377.

white men and ‘full-blood’ Kāi Tahu women. However, while Palmer is one of the 140 non-Māori men identified by Anderson who formed unions with Kāi Tahu women, he was not one of the many who would go on to formalize this union in a marriage ceremony performed by one of the southern missionaries such as James Watkin, Charles Creed or Johannes Wohlers. Further, Patahi’s narrative exemplifies the pattern of informal colonization of southern New Zealand by traders and whalers from the late 1820s, but from the perspective of an indigenous woman whose voice is rarely heard in such a context.

The following is a passage from the diary of William Martin, an early settler of Dunedin and Oamaru who was a goldminer on the banks of the Teremakau River on the West Coast of the South Island in 1863 where he met Patahi. In it she recounts the beginning of shore whaling at Otago, the establishment of formal colonization in this region and her decision to marry the whaler and trader Captain Edward Palmer:

Long time ago when I was young girl, big ship came to Otakou, it have lot of men to catch the whale, they stay at Otakou, then go away catch more whale, . . . one white man I like very much, he very kind to me and by and by he say you be my wife. I say . . . when I get big and older. Next time you come. The ship she go away and I very sorry, the Maori Chief at Otakou he big strong man, he make big fight when Te Rauparaha the big chief come with lot of canoes and men from what you call North Island and kill lot of Maoris, the Maoris of Otakou kill a lot too, and then they call the chief, Bloody Jack [Tuhawaiki], after the ship gone, Bloody Jack he say I want you for my wife. I say no, I like the Pakeha Palmer, and when the ship come back I going to be his wife, the Chief he very angry, and many times he get very angry. All the other Maoris say I must marry Bloody Jack, so one night I left Otakou and go to Moeraki, stay four moons [months], then I go to Waikouaiti and every day I make a look out for the ship, by and by it come, then I go to Otakou and I be Mr Palmer’s wife. I stay on the ship – then we build a whare [house] and live there and a Maori go instead of Mr Palmer. I very happy then, for long time we live at Otakou and I have one girl, then another.²⁰²

This passage includes fascinating details which offer an exciting opportunity to interpret the nature of intermarriage at the moment when whaling in southern New

²⁰² cited in Ross Wilson, *Patahi and the Whaler*, (Dunedin, 1992), p. 5, (Bill Dacker Collection).

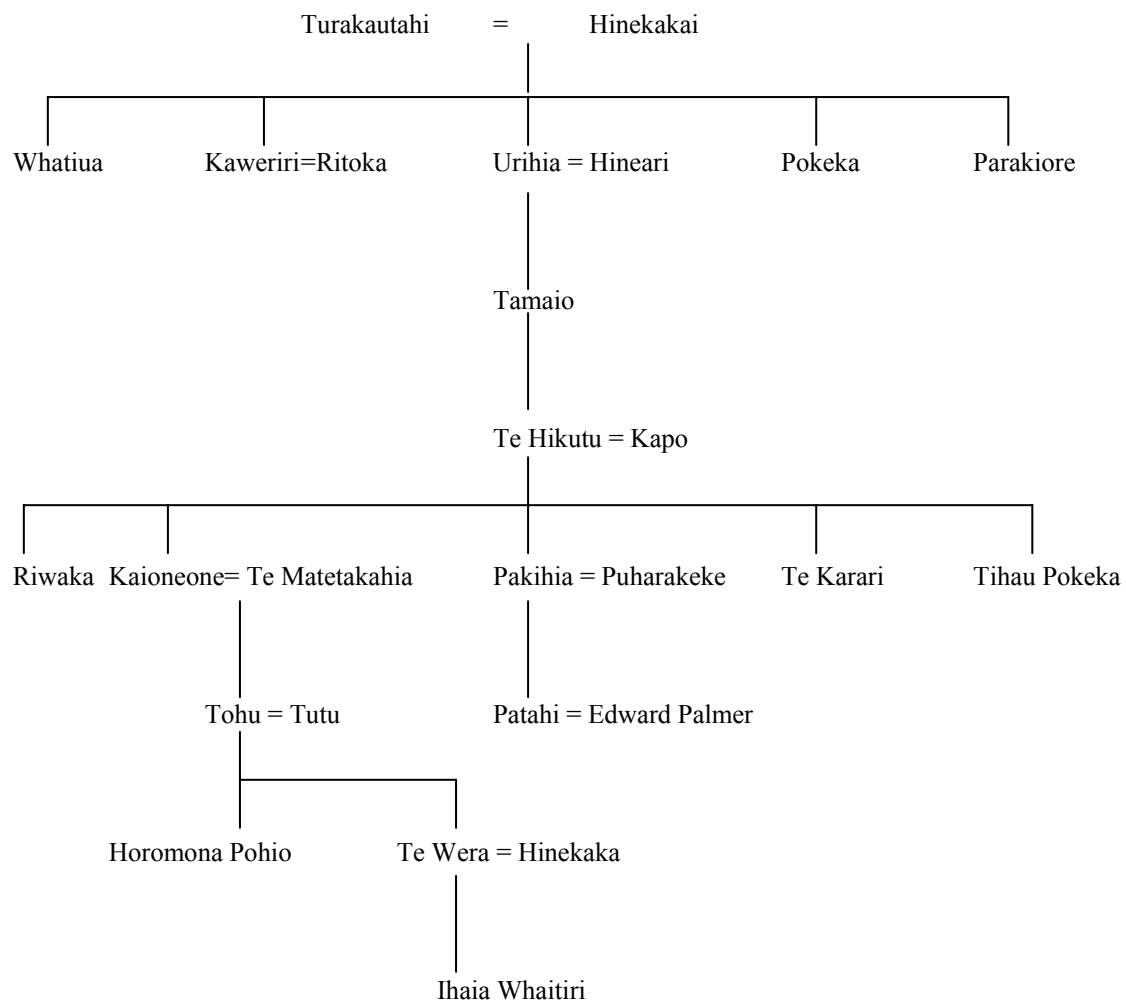
Zealand was just beginning to be established. In terms of a timeframe, Patahi's reference to Te Rauparaha's South Island raids on Kaiapoi and Horomaka/Banks Peninsula²⁰³ places her meeting with Palmer around the late 1820s and is confirmed by the birth of their first child in 1829. What is most interesting is that Patahi rejects the most important southern chief, an alliance that her people were clearly anxious for, in favour of Palmer. Patahi's freedom to reject Tuhawaiki indicates that she was a woman of status in her community.

Patahi's whakapapa in Table One provides evidentiary support for the claim that she was of high-born status. That her whakapapa has been remarkably difficult to find and confirm indicates that she has been erased to a degree from published Kāi Tahu whakapapa, suggesting that her rejection of Tuhawaiki had long-term consequences. Though Patahi barely survives in the records, her whakapapa can be pieced together from a number of sources. Patahi is a descendant of Turakautahi, the builder of Kaiapoi Pā and his first wife Hinekakai. Turakautahi's son Urihia (or Hurihia) married his relative Hineari, a descendant of Turakautahi's second wife Te Wharepapa. Their great grandson Kaioneone married Te Matetakahia. Kaioneone is the uncle of Patahi and thus Patahi is a descendant of Turakautahi from whom many Kāi Tahu leaders also descend. The Kāi Tahu leader and missionary Horomona Pohio who signed the Otago Purchase deed in 1844 and claimed the interior of North Otago alongside Te Maiharoa at Omarama in 1877 was the son of Tutu and Tohu.²⁰⁴ Another son of Tutu and Tohu was Te Wera who married Hinekaka. Their son was Ihaia Whaitiri from whom the late Kāi Tahu leader Robert Whaitiri descended.²⁰⁵

²⁰³ In the late 1820s and early 1830s, Ngati Toa led by Te Rauparaha made frequent attacks on the tribes of the northern South Island and Kāi Tahu as far south as Kaiapoi. In 1831, Te Rauparaha succeeded in capturing and destroying the Kāi Tahu settlement at Kaiapoi. This attack by Ngati Toa resulted in widespread damage and loss of population through death and migration to Otākou and Murihiku for Kāi Tahu in the Canterbury region.

²⁰⁴ Te Maire Tau, "Pohio, Horomona, 1815-1880," in *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, 1769-1869*, (Wellington, Allen and Unwin/Department of Internal Affairs, 1990), p. 342.

²⁰⁵ P. D. Garven, *The Genealogy of the Ngai Tahu, Vol. 1*, Table 4e, (CM). Leah Taylor, "Whaitiri, Robert Agrippa Moengaroa (1916-1996)," in Jane Thomson (ed.) *Southern People: A Dictionary of Otago Southland Biography*, (Dunedin, Longacre Press/Dunedin City Council, 1998), p. 542.

Table 1: Whakapapa of Patahi

Source: Ngāi Tahu Whakapapa File 331 (Ngāi Tahu Whakapapa Unit). P. D. Garven, *The Genealogy of the Ngai Tahu*, Vol. 1, Table 4e; Vol. 2, p. 44; Vol. 4, p. 55; Vol. 5, p. 33, (CM).

It was not unusual for high-born women to choose who they married. A famous case is Tokitoki, niece of southern Kāi Tahu chief Honekai, who protected the young sealer James Caddell in 1810 when his ship was captured and eventually married him.²⁰⁶ Female choice in marriage partners was not limited to the South Island. There are numerous examples of high-born women amongst iwi in the whaling

²⁰⁶ Anderson, 1991, p. 4. Bentley, p. 62.

and trading era of the North Island choosing Pākehā partners such as the ‘love match’ between Moengaroa of Te Hikutu and Hokianga trader Frederick Maning.²⁰⁷

Intermarriage had mutual benefits for the whaler and an indigenous community. For the trader and whaler, “marrying in” had an integrative function, as it gave them access to resources, the land on which to establish a station, as well as the protection of that station. Edward Weller, the owner of the Otākou and Taieri whaling stations, married Paparu, the daughter of the Kāi Tahu and Otākou chief Taiaroa, to illustrate his attachment to the Kāi Tahu community.²⁰⁸ The political, protective and economic role of intermarriage has a long tradition in Kāi Tahu history. According to Arthur Carrington, Kāi Tahu incursion into the southern districts of New Zealand was partly achieved through and consolidated by intermarriage with Kāti Māmoe, who were earlier migrants to the South Island, from the eighteenth century.²⁰⁹ This tradition of creating political ties through strategic marriage was continued with the arrival of sealers and whalers on the coast of Te Waipounamu. In the contact situation, marriage was an assimilatory tool for Kāi Tahu. It guaranteed through kinship ties and the responsibilities these links entailed, that the single, mobile whaler would be drawn into the community.

While whaling depended on the goodwill and protection of the resident indigenous community for its presence and survival on the coast of New Zealand, Patahi’s marriage indicates that intermarriage was not always explicitly about indigenous strategic alliances and western access to resources. Patahi’s people were not in fact evidently interested in “marrying in” the “Pakeha Palmer.” The statement that “All the other Maoris say I must marry Bloody Jack”, points to the value attached to a marriage between Patahi and the foremost chief of Kāi Tahu above that of a

²⁰⁷ Bentley, p. 197.

²⁰⁸ T. A. Pybus, *The Maoris of the South Island*, (Wellington, Reed, 1954).

²⁰⁹ A. H. Carrington, *The story of the invasion and occupation of the South Island of New Zealand by the descendants of Tahu-Potiki*, 1934, MS (Ann Parsonson Collection). Carrington’s informant was Hāriata Whakatau Pitini-Morera of Kāti Kurī, a Kāi Tahu hapū of Kaikoura. Hāriata wrote a number of texts on Kāi Tahu history and tradition in the 1930s and was an acknowledged authority on Kāi Tahu history amongst Kāi Tahu. Te Maire Tau, *Ngā Pikitūroa o Ngāi Tahu: The Oral Traditions of Ngāi Tahu*, (Dunedin, University of Otago Press, 2003), p. 30.

marriage to a Pākehā whaler and trader. In Patahi's case, the "marrying in" of a whaler into an indigenous community took place through female agency and was predicated on mutual love and attraction, indicated in Palmer's coming back to her from Sydney and Patahi's travelling to Moeraki for four months to wait for his return. Intermarriage did not always have a protective function. Indeed, for Palmer intermarriage was potentially dangerous. Patahi's decision to choose him over Tuhawaiki would certainly not have guaranteed him the protection that intermarriage usually offered.



Illustration 2: Edward Palmer (1802-1886), former whaler who 'abandoned' Patahi, his Kāi Tahu wife, for a respectable and more conventional marriage to Scotswoman Beatrice Fowler.

Source: Coral Beattie (Personal Collection).

In many ways, Palmer was of a similar background to many of the traders and whalers who frequented the southern districts of New Zealand. They were usually escaped convicts from the Australian colonies or the children of convicts who had gained their ticket of leave. Edward was the first child born to Richard Palmer and Elizabeth Tetley in 1802 at Sydney (or Botany Bay); both English convicts who had

been transported to New South Wales in 1800 and 1801 respectively.²¹⁰ Little is known about his childhood, but by the 1830s Palmer was whaling at Preservation Inlet, and had spent some time at Tautuku where his brother William McLeur Palmer was the manager, lived for a time at Bluff where he bought land, and managed Johnny Jones' farm near Waikouaiti.²¹¹ This mobility is not atypical of the whaler's lifestyle. Once a whaling station had been abandoned, former whalers often moved on to other economic opportunities. Like many whaling partners, Palmer and Patahi moved up and down the coast of southern New Zealand following economic opportunities in the form of trade and whaling as they arose, contributing to what was a very mobile population and a developing economy in the early nineteenth century.

Patahi's story quoted above confirms that she and Palmer had two children – Betsy born in 1829 and Jane born in 1830. Betsy married Richard Sizemore, the brother-in-law of Johnny Jones. The Sizemores did not reside at Maitapapa, unlike Patahi and Edward Palmer's daughter Jane who married Robert Brown, the son of Te Wharerimu and sealer Robert Brown who lived at Maitapapa from 1851. Both daughters achieved high-status marriages within Kāi Tahu and whaling society respectively: Jane to Robert Brown, the grandson of Tapui, a chief of the Foveaux Strait region and father of Te Wharerimu, and Betsy to Richard Sizemore, the brother-in-law of whaling magnate Johnny Jones.

From 1848, the lower Taieri district was settled by Scottish colonists as part of the Otago Settlement established by the Otago Association. The Otago Association was a joint venture between the New Zealand Company who had purchased the Otago Block in 1844 and the Lay Association of the Scottish Free Church established in 1846.²¹² It is from this point that Patahi's story turns from happiness to confusion over her abandonment:

²¹⁰ Coral Beattie Papers, Ms-Papers-4280-008 (ATL).

²¹¹ Tony Hanning, *"The Whaler and the Princess": Irihapeti Patahi and Edwin Palmer*, (Dunedin, Tony Hanning, 2000). Coral Beattie Papers, Ms-Papers-4280-008, (ATL). Alfred Eccles and A. H. Reed, *John Jones of Otago: Whaler, Coloniser, Shipowner and Merchant*, (Wellington, Reed, 1949), p. 20.

²¹² For an explanation of the four year delay between purchase in 1844 and colonization in 1848 see Chapter Three.

By and by two, three, ships come, bring lot of white people, they go up the river make a lot of houses, by and by Mr Palmer go often away in boat to see them, lot of other ships come, then Mr Palmer go to Taieri, build house, take lot of cattle with him, I want to go too, but he say no, sometimes he no come for a long time and when he come he very cross; and by and by he say he no married to me like white people then he say he married to white woman and he come for the children, he take them away from me. I very angry and make a long cry, the Maori say 'Me no good better you had married Bloody Jack'. About a year after Toby a Maori he take me for his wife, but many times I cry.²¹³

On 13 January 1851, the Reverend Thomas Burns recorded Edward Palmer residing with his daughter Jane at the Maitapapa kāika, the piece of flat land at the entrance to the lower Taieri Gorge situated on the northern bank of the Taieri River.²¹⁴ Burns also noted that Palmer's 'Māori' wife had 'run away'. Five years earlier, Palmer was living at Waikouaiti where Shortland recorded that his Kāi Tahu wife was 'dead'.²¹⁵ However, Atholl Anderson places Patahi at Ruapuke in 1836 and Lyttelton Anglican Church records reveal that she was baptised Irihāpeti in November 1851, and married for a second time on 13 January 1852.²¹⁶ By 1863, Patahi was living at Greenstone on the banks of the Teremakau River where she met William Martin. While intermarriage introduced cultural change to individual women and on a wider scale to Māori communities, marrying 'out' did not mean the curtailment of seasonal patterns of movement. Patahi's mobility, hinted at in the term 'run away', indicates the continuance of a normal pattern of life within her marriage. This mobility is further evidence of her agency as it was something Palmer could not control at a point when he desired a settled life. Patahi, who passed away in 1887, married a third time to Haimona Tuangau of Hawkes Bay, Māori Catechist for the Port Levy district.²¹⁷ By

²¹³ cited in Wilson, 1992, p. 6, (Bill Dacker Collection).

²¹⁴ The Visitation Book of Reverend Thomas Burns [1848-1858], p. 66, (OSM). Thomas Burns was the minister to, and one of the leaders of, the Otago Settlement.

²¹⁵ Typed Transcript, Edward Shortland, "Journal Notes kept while in the Middle Island November 1843 and 4 to 21 January 1844. Lists of Various Inhabitants at Various Places," p. 9, PC-025, (HL).

²¹⁶ Atholl Anderson, *Te Puoho's Last Raid*, (Dunedin, Otago Heritage Books, 1986), p. 63. Marriage of Patahi to Topi, 13 January 1852, Holy Trinity Anglican Church Lyttelton, Transcript of Marriage Register, 1851-1861, p. 3, (CPL). Baptism of Irihapeti Patahi, 30 November 1851, Holy Trinity Anglican Church Lyttelton, Transcript of Baptismal Register, 1851-1858, p. 6, (CPL).

²¹⁷ Barbara Palmer to Cath Brown, 28/10/2001, p. 1, (Cath Brown Collection).

23 December 1851, Burns recorded that Palmer had married Beatrice Fowler, who was twenty years his junior.²¹⁸ It is recorded in the *Otago Witness*, that the marriage of Beatrix and Edward, a stockholder, took place at Halfway Bush (now Otokia) on 1 May 1851.²¹⁹ Together, Beatrice and Edward raised a family of six children, five sons and one daughter, at the prosperous farming district of Otokia situated a few kilometres north of Maitapapa.

Abandonment was a relatively common outcome of intermarriage during the whaling period in New Zealand. Trevor Bentley notes that post-1840 abandonment amongst Pākehā Māori men paralleled their economic and political influence.²²⁰ T. B. Kennard states that “heartless cases of desertion” did take place along the southern coast of New Zealand during and after the whaling period, suggesting that abandonment was also a feature of Kāi Tahu women’s experience of intermarriage.²²¹ But as marriage records indicate, many of the relationships between Kāi Tahu women and sealers and whalers in the early nineteenth century were long-lasting. At Taieri a number of the men lost their wives to early death, and many chose to remarry women of Kāi Tahu descent, such as William Palmer whose first two wives were Kāti Māmoe, while his third and last wife, Ann Holmes, was of Kāi Tahu descent.²²² Ann Holmes and William Palmer were married for 23 years (she died in 1886 and he never remarried). However, Edward Palmer chose not to engage in a second marriage, customary or western, to an indigenous woman.

Anderson suggests that if we are to understand the nature of intermarriage in southern New Zealand in the early decades of the nineteenth century, these relationships must be viewed on a continuum, ranging from brief encounters, including prostitution and relationships of exchange, to Christian marriages.²²³

²¹⁸ Burns Visitation Book, p. 103, (OSM).

²¹⁹ *Otago Witness*, 17 May 1851, p. 2.

²²⁰ Bentley, p. 204.

²²¹ J. Herries Beattie, *The First White Boy Born in Otago: The story of T. B. Kennard*, (Dunedin, Reed, 1939), p. 25.

²²² Coral Beattie, “Palmer, William McLeur (1815-1903),” in J. Thomson (ed.), *Southern People: A Dictionary of Otago Southland Biography*, (Dunedin, Dunedin City Council/Longacre Press, 1998), pp. 375-376.

²²³ Atholl Anderson, *The Welcome of Strangers*, (Dunedin, University of Otago Press, 1998), p. 129.

Patahi's experience of intermarriage does not fit neatly on this continuum. Her marriage was neither a brief encounter, nor a relationship of exchange. From Patahi's perspective her relationship was one of mutual love and attraction but it did not result in a Christian marriage. While a continuum is useful to gauge general patterns and trends in intermarriage it has limitations, leaving little room for the consideration of agency, especially that of Kāi Tahu women.



Illustration 3: Ann Holmes, the third wife of former whaler William Palmer. Ann was born at Otākou Heads to Tamairaki and married Palmer at the age of seventeen in 1853.

Source: Coral Beattie (Personal Collection).

At Maitapapa, Patahi's is the only case where a Kāi Tahu woman was abandoned by her Pākehā partner. Sylvia Van Kirk has found that abandonment was a feature of the fur-trade marriage experience and was usually driven by a desire for respectability.²²⁴ She also found in her examination of these marriages that abandonment usually took place after the death of a 'native wife'. In Edward Palmer's case, Patahi was cast off while still alive. However, this took place after Patahi and Palmer's daughters were married. Fatherly responsibilities achieved, Palmer turned to

²²⁴ Sylvia Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur-Trade Society, 1670-1870*, (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), p. 50.

a more respectable life with a Scottish wife, as a large landholder in the Otokia district who required sons to inherit the property where he ran 1000 sheep in the early 1880s.²²⁵ Edward Palmer passed away in March 1886 at his home 'Tahora' situated in Upper Walker Street, Dunedin, leaving his estate to Beatrix and his sons, without recognizing the claims of his surviving daughter and grandchildren from his first marriage.²²⁶

Patahi's experience of intermarriage had a devastating effect. She was abandoned not only by the man she chose to enter into customary marriage with, but also by her wider kin at Otākou, revealed in their attempt to dissuade her from her choice of marriage partner and in the fact that she never returned to the settlement. Putting personal choice before family concerns and the customs of her people added to her feelings of despair and of personal loss. The loss of her children was a significant part of her experience of abandonment. This is particularly poignant given that Palmer would not allow Patahi to see her daughters. With her second husband, Patahi travelled to the Taieri where:

We stop in the bush all night, next morning I go near the grass field and see Mr Palmer's house, but the bush hide me, by and by I see one little girl, she come near ... I make a call as I see her come, she no see me, then I come nearer and called her, she come and we both make a cry, ... by and by the white woman sees us and tell Mr Palmer, then he come down and say, what you do here. I say I come to see my little girls. He look very angry and say 'You no stop here.' I say 'No'. He say, 'Well, you come get some breakfast then you go away.' I went to the house ... He give me lot of food and some tobacco then he took us to the road and say 'Goodbye. No you come again.' That is the last time I see my little girls ... They not little now, they all women now. I am long way from them. I am getting old. I think I never see them again.²²⁷

That Patahi had to hide in the bushes to get a glimpse of her daughters and when caught had to fight to see them is suggestive of two things. First, abandonment in

²²⁵ Annual Sheep Returns for the Year ended 31 May 1883, *AJHR*, 1884, H-3, p. 52.

²²⁶ Death Notice, *Otago Witness*, 3/4/1886, p. 17. Death Certificate: Edwin Palmer 1886/479. Will of Edwin Palmer, 1886, DAAC/D239/26/1368, (ANZ-D).

²²⁷ Wilson, 1992, p. 6, (Dacker Collection).

marriage also meant the loss of children and in this case Patahi was prevented from seeing them. Second, her determination to see her daughters and her ability to convince Palmer to let her talk to them and to hug them again speaks of her character and highlights her agency. Patahi's last sentences indicate that she continued to feel the loss of her daughters keenly and sadly, it seems she did not see them again. Patahi's experience of intermarriage suggests that the range of responses to such a process was not always positive and that in fact, cultural and personal dislocation could be the outcome.

It is generally believed that two types of intermarriage took place in early to mid-nineteenth century New Zealand and both were employed for assimilatory purposes. The first took place within a Māori framework whereby single white mobile men were assimilated into the local community. Patahi's story indicates that there were a range of interracial relationships that took place within the framework of indigenous custom. Indeed, it was not always the case that intermarriage acted as a form of trade in women predicated on gaining access to resources, but that in some cases Kāi Tahu women repudiated custom and chose to marry for personal reasons. Through missionaries a second pattern of intermarriage, following the first phase of intermarriage identified by Anderson, witnessed the assimilation of Kāi Tahu to western marriage practices, effectively replacing custom.

The arrival of missionaries in southern New Zealand ushered in a new phase in intermarriage patterns. In the encounter with missionaries the act of marriage became an important tool of civilization. The widespread manner in which western marriage was taken up by whalers and Kāi Tahu women was a reflection of the meaningful nature of these relationships. Indeed, this suggests that the first phase of intermarriage in southern New Zealand, despite the outcome of Patahi's marriage, was on the whole positive. The missionary project in southern New Zealand was represented by the presence of Wesleyan missionaries James Watkin, Charles Creed and William Kirk stationed at Waikouaiti; Johannes Wohlers the Lutheran missionary at Ruapuke Island who had the most extensive contact with southern Kāi Tahu; and the Presbyterian

Reverend Thomas Burns of Dunedin, one of the leaders of, and minister to, the Otago Association. All of these men travelled extensively in order to minister to large parishes, including Kāi Tahu kāika in the Otākou and Murihiku regions. Moreover, they kept birth, baptism and marriage registers, as well as reports and journals of their frequent journeys through southern New Zealand.

Missionaries were a very different agent of colonization from government officials and travellers. First, because they lived amongst the Kāi Tahu population on a permanent basis their comments are reflective of the close nature of their encounter. In this respect, they are very similar to whalers. Missionaries occupied an ambivalent place on the colonial frontier as they did not have the luxury of social distance which defined the relationship between colonial officials and Kāi Tahu. This lack of social distance brought the missionary into constant danger of physical, intellectual and spiritual transgressions. In the statement that: “I am not the man to civilize them, on the contrary the natives uncivilize me”, Wohlers indicates the threat an isolated mission situation posed to his own beliefs concerning ‘race’ and civilization.²²⁸ Similar situations existed elsewhere in the empire as in India where Kenneth Ballhatchet found that missionaries “played an ambiguous part on the imperial stage,” as “uncomfortable members of the ruling race, criticizing British as well as Indian immorality.”²²⁹

Wohlers initially arrived in the South Island in 1843 with three other trainees of the North German Missionary Society. With the encouragement of southern leader Tuhawaiki, Wohlers established a mission station at Ruapuke Island in the Foveaux Strait in May 1844.²³⁰ His experience at Ruapuke was characterized by isolation and loneliness, revealed in his often ambivalent comments about ‘half-caste’ girls. A potent mix of isolation from European settlement and lack of social distance is evident

²²⁸ Ruapuke Report, 2 February 1845, p. 1, 0428-04A, (ATL).

²²⁹ Kenneth Ballhatchet, *Race, Sex and Class Under the Raj: Imperial Attitudes and Policies and their Critics, 1793-1905*, (London, Widenfeld and Nicolson, 1980), p. 4.

²³⁰ Sheila Natusch, “Wohlers, Johann Frederick Heinrich, 1811-1885,” in *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography Volume 1, 1769-1869*, (Wellington, Allen and Unwin/Department of Internal Affairs, 1990), p. 606.

in Wohlers' description of the young girl who cleaned his house and had responsibility for domestic management while he was away at Stewart Island: "she is a very modest girl. Now, that I am back again she does no longer show herself. Otherwise there is no scarcity here of coquettish wenches."²³¹ The ambivalent attitude towards Kāi Tahu women reflected in the reports of Wohlers was not unique to missionaries. In southern Asia including India, Sri Lanka and Burma, marriage to indigenous women, because of its permanence, was considered by officials to be dangerous, but sexual liaisons with the same women were held to be an accepted part of the soldier's life on the colonial frontier.²³² Given that these women could be at once 'dangerous' (to officials) and 'attractive' (to soldiers) exemplifies the ambivalence of British officialdom in southern Asia towards indigenous women, and is evidence that such attitudes were underlain by the concerns of class, 'race' and gender.

The problems and complexities of social distance that required negotiation in the missionary encounter are evident in the Ruapuke reports of Wohlers. These reports exemplify the way in which 'colonial desire' underpinned the missionary encounter in the south. Wohlers' descriptions of 'half-castes' illustrate the simultaneous attraction and repulsion outlined by Robert Young, focused in Wohlers' case on the physical beauty of the 'half-caste' women of southern New Zealand. In May 1845 Wohlers noted "it is not quite without danger for such an old bachelor as me to come into such close contact with the young New Zealand women who are not invariably amiable."²³³

Specifically, this marriage of attraction and repulsion focused upon the bodies of Kāi Tahu women and 'half-caste' children. Wohlers emphasized the attraction of Mrs Sterling, who he described as "the crown of the women at Foveaux Strait and one cannot at all notice that she is a halfcaste [sic]. She is so pretty, so friendly, so quick

²³¹ Ruapuke Report, 31 December 1845, p. 7, 0428-04A, (ATL).

²³² Ballhatchet, p. 154.

²³³ Ruapuke Report, 1 May 1845, p. 14, 0428-04A, (ATL).

and so clever that one might envy Sterling for her.”²³⁴ Moreover, in a description of the increasing mixed descent community Wohlers discussed the beauty of the wives of the sealers and whalers, and the development of a ‘beautiful race’ of children, and lamented that all the pretty ‘stock’ had been taken:

The halfcaste children are all very pretty and it might well happen, that in ten years time Foveaux Strait will be famous because of its beautiful girls. The reason for the beauty of the children might be that the local Europeans have selected without exception very beautiful Maori girls as their wives. If these women were to be painted, their portraits could compete with the pictures of the beauties of Europe.²³⁵

From the accounts of Wohlers, one can see the tensions and at times ambivalence which the ‘half-caste’ represented in his world. Cases of male missionaries in New Zealand, married and single, transgressing stringently drawn nineteenth century moral and racial boundaries through sexual relationships with indigenous women, underline the tension inherent in the missionary encounter with Māori.²³⁶ Wohlers’ solution to the isolation of his work situation at Ruapuke and the tempting dangers of the attractive ‘half-caste’ women of the region was marriage to Eliza Palmer of Wellington in September 1849.²³⁷ Thus for Wohlers the act of marriage had a twofold purpose. First, it was a civilizing tool and second, it created a barrier to his desires.

Missionaries introduced the western marriage ceremony into southern New Zealand. Marriage and baptism was not only a way of ‘civilizing’ Kāi Tahu women, it was also a means by which to ‘civilize’ former sealers and whalers and by extension to establish, if not colonial rule, the authority of the church over their lives. Along with missionaries, government officials viewed marriage as a tool of civilization, moving to introduce and consolidate an idealized view of monogamous western

²³⁴ Ruapuke Report, 19 February 1846, p. 13, 0428-04A, (ATL).

²³⁵ Travel Report, 30 June-17 July 1846, p. 16, 0428-04A, (ATL).

²³⁶ See “The Fairburn-Colenso Story,” *Historical Journal Auckland-Waikato*, 27, October 1975, pp. 10-15. Prior to working at Waikouaiti, James Watkin was located at Tonga where he became involved with his wife’s maid, Jane Jones, “‘Savages or Second-Class Citizens?’ Colonial Race Attitudes and the Otago Settlement, 1840-1860, (BA (Hons) Research Essay, University of Otago, 1988), p. 17. Also see Belich, 1996, p. 136.

²³⁷ Natusch, 1990, p. 607.

marriage.²³⁸ In writing to Wohlers, Alfred Domett, Civil Secretary in Governor George Grey's administration and a future Premier of New Zealand, linked Wohlers' work in bringing western marriage to southern Kāi Tahu with his "efforts to civilize and improve the Natives in that District."²³⁹ Ruapuke became a Registry Office for marriages in 1849 under the provision of the 1847 Marriage Ordinance, ensuring that the rule of law and the authority of the church with regards to marriage was extended to all southern Kāi Tahu.

Wohlers' description of Caroline Brown (Illustration Four), the 'half-caste' daughter of Te Wharerimu and the sealer Robert Brown who had an interest in land at Taieri, clearly illustrates how intermarriage is intimately connected with civilization. Caroline Brown, also known as Koronaki, was born at the mixed settlement of Whenua Hou/Codfish Island in 1832. Caroline is the sister of Robert Brown who married Jane Palmer, the daughter of Patahi and Edward Palmer. Her marriage at the age of thirteen to the former whaler John Howell in 1845 invites connections and contrasts to the experience of Patahi. Koronaki's marriage represents important shifts from the form of intermarriage experienced by Patahi in southern New Zealand. First, she represents a shift in the male preference for 'half-caste' women that is identified as a general trend by Atholl Anderson. Second, she illustrates the shift to western and formal marriage undertaken in a mission station or church.

During February 1846, Wohlers undertook a journey to settlements on the northern coast of the Foveaux Strait. At Riverton, he encountered Koronaki/Caroline Brown, who he described as:

²³⁸ A. J. Ballantyne, "The Reform of the Heathen Body: CMS Missionaries, Māori and Sexuality," in M. Reilly and J. Thomson (eds.) *When the Waves Rolled in Upon Us: Essays in Nineteenth Century Maori History*, (Dunedin, University of Otago Press, 1999), pp. 31-41. Kathryn Rountree, "Re-Making the Maori Female Body: Marianne William's Mission in the Bay of Islands," *Journal of Pacific History*, 35, 1, 2000, pp. 49-66.

²³⁹ Alfred Domett to Wohlers in Sheila Natusch, *Brother Wohlers: A Biography of J. F. H. Wohlers*, (Christchurch, Caxton Press, 1992, second edition), p. 179.

a pretty young woman. He [John Howell] has married her just recently. The wedding took place at Waikowaiti [sic]. She has lost her father when she was a child and, hence she has grown up amongst the natives without any European education. She does not know any English but that which she has learnt during the few months of her marriage from her husband. Howell wants to civilize her and to make her outstanding among the other women. Hence he does not allow her to sit around among the natives, nor to attend the Maori church services which are led by a native teacher.²⁴⁰

Wohlers' description of Caroline Brown's situation clearly illustrates the link between marriage and civilization in early southern New Zealand. In this instance, Koronaki's marriage at a young age to John Howell, provided an opportunity to 'civilize' her in the manner her father would have, had he not died when she was a child.



Illustration 4: Peti Parata (sitting) and her sister Caroline Howell. Caroline's dress suggests that she has become accustomed to her marriage and life as a woman of status in her community.

Source: Hocken Library.

²⁴⁰ Ruapuke Report, 19 February 1846, p. 10, 0428-04A, (ATL).

Wohlers goes on to provide a description of Koronaki/Caroline's situation that is indicative of the disruptive element underpinning the process of cultural interaction for Kāi Tahu:

Caroline's situation makes her indeed somewhat lonely; for she does not know how to behave among the European women, of whom there are three in this place and hence she does not feel comfortable in their company. She is not allowed to keep close contact with the natives. Neither yet is she conscious of her status. Hence I tried to fill her with pride and put it to her that she was superior to the other women of this settlement. She was the wife of a gentleman and hence must not associate with the women who stood far below her. One should think that such exhortations would impress the heart of a young and pretty woman but I could not notice any such impression. If she would [have] her own way, she would bother very little with the household, but would sit among the natives most of the time. She is really still too young.²⁴¹

Caroline Brown, according to Wohlers, lost her 'civilizing' influence in the form of her father while young, was raised by her Kāi Tahu mother in a Kāi Tahu community, and married a former whaler and now 'gentleman' at a young age, occupies an ambivalent cultural space in nineteenth century southern New Zealand. Unlike Patahi, Koronaki's story appears to be without agency. In Wohlers' writings her youth and her poor skills in the English language render her silent on the matter of her marriage, and thus are suggestive of a lack of choice. As Wohlers indicates, upon her marriage, Koronaki was removed from one cultural world to another and from the preceding passage, was obviously uncomfortable with this transition. Indeed, she is perceived to occupy a 'lonely' place where she is neither Kāi Tahu nor Pākehā. Illustration Four indicates that Koronaki became comfortable with her life as the wife of a 'gentleman.' At their marriage in 1845, John Howell was establishing Jacobs River as an agricultural settlement as whaling neared an end in the area.²⁴² Together he and Koronaki/Caroline had seventeen children and at her death in 1899, Koronaki/Caroline's household assets listed in her will confirmed a life of status and comfort. The 95 items listed included a double iron bedstead and wire woven

²⁴¹ Ruapuke Report, 19 February 1846, p. 11, 0428-04A, (ATL).

²⁴² See Eva Wilson, *Hakoro ki te Iwi: The Story of Captain Howell and his Family*, (Invercargill, 1976).

mattress, a sofa, three feather beds, and a commode.²⁴³ From a close reading of Wohlers' text one can see how the marriage of Koronaki/Caroline Brown to John Howell exemplifies the ambivalence of the 'half-caste' woman, and her ability to transgress cultural worlds. In her own dual naming, Koronaki/Caroline embodied a rupture within both the colonial and Kāi Tahu worlds.

Missionary writings illuminate the centrality of western marriage practices to the process of civilization in colonial New Zealand. Indeed, stated Wohlers, "girls who are lucky enough to get a European fiance [sic] insist on being officially married."²⁴⁴ The marriage registers of James Watkin and Charles Creed at Waikouaiti include a number of marriages between Kāi Tahu women and former whalers, suggesting that while marriage was a civilizing tool, these mixed relationships were meaningful. The Christian marriages at Taieri that missionaries officiated at reflected Kāi Tahu commitment to Christianity and to western practices.²⁴⁵ The fact that such relationships developed into marriages that survived the whaling era suggests that these marriages were undertaken for more than just barter and trade, and were often dependent on women's agency and the presence of children for their long-term survival.

The practice of baptism denotes the centrality of names and re-namings to Kāi Tahu and in particular, 'half-caste' identities, denoting the dual worlds which they were negotiating. While names and re-namings serve as a 'social map' of a person's life history, in the context of 'civilizing' namings are intricately linked to the process of assimilation to western practices.²⁴⁶ In many cases, baptisms of children often followed quickly after the marriage of their parents. Many 'half-caste' children who grew up at Taieri were baptized by Wohlers and their names and ethnic status, denoted by the term 'mixed race', were recorded in his registers. In the Ruapuke Registers a boy aged nine was christened John Connor at the Neck, Stewart Island in

²⁴³ Will of Caroline Howell 1899, DAFG 9066/11/908, (ANZ-D).

²⁴⁴ Travel Report, 30 June-17 July 1846, p. 13, 0428-04A, (ATL).

²⁴⁵ Waikouaiti Wesleyan Church: Transcripts of register of baptisms, pp. 1 and 7, MS-0440/03, (HL).

²⁴⁶ See Stephen Wilson, *The Means of Naming: A social and cultural history of personal naming in western Europe*, (London, UCL Press, 1998).

1850, as was Ann Holmes, both of whom settled at Maitapapa.²⁴⁷ Others include the children of Ani Foster and Robert Sherburd – Robert, William and Sarah - in 1872.²⁴⁸ James Watkin baptized Jane Palmer in 1840 and her future husband Robert Brown, described as an ‘anglo-maori youth’ in 1844 at Waikouaiti.²⁴⁹

It was the Wesleyans, Charles Creed and William Kirk, who had the most extensive contact with Taieri Kāi Tahu. Between 1844 and 1851, Creed baptized five residents of Maitapapa. In the process of baptism, the converts took on dual names. Kāi Tahu woman Warerimu became Mata/Martha; Pi became Katarina/Catherine; Korako became Matene/Martin Korako; Robert and Jane Brown’s son was christened Thomas/Tame; and the chief of the Taieri, Te Raki became Hakaraia/Isaiah.²⁵⁰ This process was continued at Taieri through the work of William Kirk, who undertook a visit to Maitapapa in 1854, baptizing twelve residents of the settlement, including Mere/Mary Tinou; Ripika/Rebecca Pi; William Kenny; William Pere; Mata/Martha Pirimona; Keaia Puma; Maraea/Maria Kaiaia; Mere/Mary Ineou; Ema/Emma Tuakau; Mohi/Moses Tuawaiki; Peneameni/Benjamin Tuawaiki and Heremaia/Jeremiah Toitu.²⁵¹ Dual namings represent a cultural shift amongst the families of Maitapapa. For those of mixed descent, the acquisition of a Pākehā Christian name to complement their western surname symbolized the dual worlds which they inhabited and the completion of their transformation to ‘civilized’ status. As later chapters illustrate, re-namings in combination with western dress and physical appearance constituted a nexus that enabled persons of mixed descent to assimilate into mainstream Pākehā society.

The Mixed Descent Population at Maitapapa

In the context of intermarriage, the early shore whaling stations, operated by men who worked and lived in the local community, represent a ‘contact zone’, a site

²⁴⁷ Ruapuke Registers (Vol. 4), Miscellaneous Births, Baptisms, Deaths, Marriages, 1844-1885, (HL).

²⁴⁸ Ruapuke Register of Baptisms, 1850-1885, (Vol. 1), p. 26, (HL).

²⁴⁹ Waikouaiti Wesleyan Church: Transcripts of register of baptisms, pp. 1 and 7, MS-0440/03, (HL).

²⁵⁰ Ibid., pp. 10, 12, 16, 19, 21.

²⁵¹ Ibid., pp. 41, 42, and 46.

of cross-cultural exchange at which Kāi Tahu women have been at the centre. Thus, whaling like the Canadian fur-trade was “not simply an economic activity, but a social and cultural complex”, which remains imprinted on the Kāi Tahu kinscape in terms of a dramatically altered whakapapa.²⁵² In her discussion of the Canadian fur trade, Sylvia Van Kirk argues that a unique society emerged based not only on physical hybridity, but also on cultural, economic and technological intermixing. Indigenous women played a vital role in this sexual economy. Van Kirk illustrates that “the norm for sexual relationships in fur trade society was not casual, promiscuous encounters but the development of marital unions which gave rise to distinct family units.”²⁵³ The 140 non-Māori men, the majority European, and their Kāi Tahu wives who founded mixed descent families in southern New Zealand, produced an overall population of 579 mixed descent children by the mid-nineteenth century.²⁵⁴ By 1849 a small community had developed at Maitapapa, comprised of former whalers, their Kāi Tahu wives and mixed descent children, living alongside a Kāi Tahu population consisting of ‘refugees’ from the Kai Huaka feud and the Ngāti Toa raids on Kaiapoi and Banks Peninsula.²⁵⁵

Whalers had a long-term impact on the Kāi Tahu population, socially, economically, culturally and demographically. The writings of missionaries and officials in southern New Zealand provide a path to evaluating the changing demographic characteristics of the Kāi Tahu population. The reports of missionaries and travellers commented upon the decline of the Kāi Tahu population from the mid-1840s. Population decline was attributed to the acquisition of ‘new habits’, including alcohol and tobacco, as well as introduced diseases, such as measles and influenza. Demographic change has preoccupied scholars of Kāi Tahu history and Māori history more generally. Little importance has been accorded the ‘half-caste’ population

²⁵² Van Kirk, 1980, p. 2.

²⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

²⁵⁴ Anderson, 1991, p. 9.

²⁵⁵ The Kai Huaka Feud is also known as the Eat Relations Feud. It occurred between warring factions of Kāi Tahu in the late 1820s on Horomaka/Banks Peninsula, and in the Wairewa/Little River and Taumutu regions of Canterbury. This feud forced many Kāi Tahu around the Peninsula to flee south to Ruapuke Island and the Foveaux Strait for safety and protection.

during the period of these visits, or the relationship between the development of the mixed descent population within Kāi Tahu and the broader colonial experience. Elizabeth Durward, using official sources, both local and national, as well as the writings of Edward Shortland, Johannes Wohlers, James Watkin and Thomas Burns, found that the development of the ‘half-caste’ population was an emerging characteristic of the Kāi Tahu population from the 1840s.²⁵⁶ Yet, this population remains historically insignificant in academic scholarship.

Atholl Anderson suggests multiple causes for the decline of the Kāi Tahu population over the nineteenth century: inter-hapū warfare of late 1820s, the Ngati Toa raids of the late 1820s and early 1830s; the impact of disease and epidemics along with venereal disease which reduced fertility levels; and loss of young Kāi Tahu women through intermarriage.²⁵⁷ Anderson claims that, in the loss of Kāi Tahu women as partners to Kāi Tahu men, intermarriage “was probably a more important cause of population decline by 1840 than any other.”²⁵⁸ The result of intermarriage during the whaling period was the production of a ‘half-caste’ population that was frequently commented upon by missionaries and colonial officials. In 1841, James Watkin wrote that: “The males exceed the females in number, and the practise of selling them to the Europeans makes the number still less”,²⁵⁹ indicating that intermarriage was an important factor in the demographic transition that Kāi Tahu experienced in the first half of the nineteenth century.

While perceived demographic decline was central to missionary writings in New Zealand, intermarriage also provided hope for the continued existence of the Kāi Tahu population in the southern regions, despite the impact of introduced diseases on the demographic in the early to mid-nineteenth century. Wohlers was intrigued by the demography of the Foveaux Strait Kāi Tahu population, suggesting in 1845 that while

²⁵⁶ Elizabeth W. Durwood, “The Maori Population of Otago,” *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 42, 1933, pp. 49-82.

²⁵⁷ Anderson, 1998, pp. 195-196.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 194.

²⁵⁹ 8 March 1841, James Watkin Journal, p. 33, MS-0440/04 (HL). In the use of the term ‘selling’ Watkins implies that a trade in women’s bodies was taking place in Otago. This is a construction of intermarriage that tends to deny the agency of Kāi Tahu women in the contact situation.

it was undergoing depopulation, the “Europeans with their mixed offspring are going to continue the line of the thin population of this region.”²⁶⁰ It was in Murihiku that the mixed descent population was most concentrated over the nineteenth century. For Wohlers, demographic recovery lay in the marriage of Kāi Tahu women and Pākehā men. Such unions could be sanctioned, suggested Wohlers, because of their fruitfulness and “from the mingling of European men and New Zealand women a new stock shall arise.”²⁶¹

Like Wohlers, colonial officials were also obsessively concerned with recording the developing mixed descent population in southern New Zealand in the mid-1840s. During 1843 and 1844, Edward Shortland, the Sub-Protector of Aborigines, undertook a journey through the southern regions of New Zealand, visiting the “east coast of the Middle Island, from Banks Peninsula to Foveaux Strait.”²⁶² Shortland recorded the population of each settlement he visited and included comments on the mixed descent population. Describing the size and health of the Kāi Tahu population, Shortland concluded that it had not diminished but was more widely dispersed as new industries developed along the coast of Te Waipounamu.²⁶³ In addition, Shortland stated, there was “no sufficient reason to anticipate the extinction of the Maori race, except by the possible means of its becoming blended with the European stock. This, too, is an event, the accomplishment of which must be very remote under any circumstances. The number of half-caste children is, as yet, very trifling; probably little more than three hundred.”²⁶⁴

²⁶⁰ Ruapuke Report, 31 December 1845, p. 4, 0428-04A (ATL).

²⁶¹ Ruapuke Report, 19 February 1846, pp. 9-10, 0428-04A (ATL).

²⁶² Shortland, p. v.

²⁶³ Ibid., p. 54.

²⁶⁴ Ibid., pp. 77-78.

Table 2: Mixed Community, Maitapapa, 1849-1852

Name	Year	Born
William Russell	1849, 1851, 1852	England
John Russell	1849	
Anne Russell	1849	
James Wybrow	1849	Sydney
David Wybrow	1849	
William Wybrow	1849	
James Wybrow	1849	
Edwin Palmer	1849, 1851, 1852	Hobart Town
Sarah Brown	1849, 1851, 1852	Codfish Island
Harriet Palmer	1849, 1851, 1852	
George Palmer	1849, 1851, 1852	
Edwin Palmer	1852	
William Palmer	1849, 1851, 1852	Sydney
Elizabeth Palmer	1849, 1851, 1852	
Mary Palmer	1849, 1851, 1852	
Eliza Palmer	1849, 1851, 1852	
Anna Palmer	1849, 1851, 1852	
William Low	1849, 1851	Antigua
William Low jnr	1849, 1851	
James MacKenzie	1849, 1851, 1852	Jamaica
Rebecca Puck	1849, 1851	Kaikoura
John MacKenzie	1849	
William Perkins	1849, 1851	New York
Pi	1849, 1851	Waitukki [Waitaki]
Sarah Perkins	1849, 1851	
George Williams	1849, 1851, 1852	Halifax
Apaikai	1849, 1851, 1852	
Edwin Palmer	1851, 1852	
Robert Brown	1851, 1852	
Jane Palmer	1851, 1852	
Eliza Brown	1851, 1852	
Thomas Brown	1851, 1852	
Robert Brown	1852	
James Sizemore	1851, 1852	
James Crane	1852	

Source: Visitation Book of Thomas Burns (OSM).

Population counts made by colonial officials over the period 1844 to 1867 inconsistently record the development of a mixed descent population at Maitapapa. Shortland noted a population of nineteen residing in the vicinity of Maitapapa but made no mention of ‘half-castes’ in the district.²⁶⁵ Five years later in February 1849, the Reverend Thomas Burns found 27 Kāi Tahu at Maitapapa, and 34 settlers, composed mostly of ex-whalers and their children, bearing the now well-known

²⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 170.

Taieri names of Palmer, Low, McKenzie, Perkins and Williams.²⁶⁶ Burns' number accords with the figures of John Forbes who in 1849 stated that the mixed descent population at Maitapapa consisted of eight 'white men' married to Kāi Tahu women.²⁶⁷ This non-Māori population consisted of men who had migrated from other whaling stations, such as William Palmer and James Wybrow who had both previously worked at the Tautuku station, or from Codfish Island in the case of John Kelly, Edward Palmer and Ned Palmer. Like the Kāi Tahu population of lower Taieri, the whalers of the 1830s were also highly mobile. Indeed, by 1851 James Wybrow was no longer resident at Maitapapa, having re-settled elsewhere in southern New Zealand.

Informal and formal population figures gathered by colonial officials from the 1850s give an indication of the derivation and affiliation of the Kāi Tahu population alongside its ethnic composition. Henry. T. Clarke recorded 23 Kāi Tahu residing at Maitapapa in 1852, making no reference to the existence of a mixed descent population.²⁶⁸ By 1853, Walter Mantell, the Commissioner of Crown Lands for Otago, found a small but stable population of Kāi Tahu resident at Maitapapa, a significant proportion of whom had migrated to Otākou and Murihiku/Southland from Canterbury at the time of the Ngāti Toa raids of the late 1820s and early 1830s.²⁶⁹ The hapū affiliations of the population are reflected in Mantell's census of Maitapapa where he found a resident population of 23, representing eleven hapū, evidence not only of a migrant population but of a multi-hapū settlement pattern.²⁷⁰ Mantell's list in Table Three affirms the 'refugee' status of the population living at the lower Taieri. The migrant status of the Taieri inhabitants listed in Table Three is clearly evident in the presence of members of the Ngati Tuahuriri hapū associated with Tuahiwi, near Kaiapoi, in Canterbury, the Kāti Mamoe hapū Ngati Rakiihia, the Waikouaiti hapū of

²⁶⁶ Davis, p. 180.

²⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 120.

²⁶⁸ Abstract Return of Natives in the Otago and Southland Provinces 1852, showing those who have died since 1864, in Alexander Mackay, *A Compendium of Official Documents Relative to Native Affairs in the South Island Volume II*, (Wellington, Government Printer, 1873), p. 142.

²⁶⁹ On the impact of the raids upon Kāi Tahu see Anderson, 1998, pp. 85-91.

²⁷⁰ *AJHR*, G-16, 1886, p. 4.

Ngati Huirapa and Ngati Tutekawa, named for the tupuna who built Waikakahi pā at Wairewa/Little River located north of Te Waihora/Lake Ellesmere in Canterbury.²⁷¹

While Mantell's list indicates the composition of the population, the list is also significant for its omissions. This is particularly evident in comparison to the Reverend Thomas Burns's population count of 'the village of Te Raki' on 24 December 1852. Included in Burns' figures but not in Mantell's are Robert and Jane Palmer and their children Eliza, Thomas and Robert; Sarah Brown the 'half-caste' wife of Ned Palmer and their children Harriet, George, Edwin and their whāngai William Russell; and William Palmer's children Elizabeth, Mary, Eliza and Anna.²⁷² This is an additional fifteen people of Kāi Tahu descent not accounted for in 1853. When added to Mantell's list of 23 this gives a total Kāi Tahu population of 38.

Table 3: Census of Maitapapa, 1853

Name	Gender	Hapū
Hakaraia te Raki	M	Ngati Tuahuriri
Teone Koroko	M	Ngati Rakiihia
Tuarea	M	Ngati Tutekawa
George Te Korihi	M	Ngati Tutekawa
Pakihau	M	Ngati Tutekawa
Rawiri te Uraura	M	Ngati Tutekawa
Matene Korako	M	Ngati Hamua
Rawiri Gimlet	M	Ngati Rakai
Riwai Pukunui	M	Ngati Moruka
Wallace Paipai	M	Ngati Huirapa
Tohitu	M	Ngati Rakiwaputa
Kaihemō	F	Ngati Tuahuriri
Katarina Pi	F	Ngati Tuahuriri
Makarita Tehoko	F	Ngati Tuahuriri
Rina Korehi	F	Ngati Tuahuriri
Hinewera	F	Ngati Tuahuriri
Tera Tureti Rahau	F	Ngati Tuahuriri
Tamekaeaea	F	Ngati Hamua
Hapaikai	F	Ngati Wera
Mata te Warerimu	F	Ngati Tuteauka
Tuakau	F	Ngati Hurihia
Jane Muheke	F	Ngati Hurihia
Te Rahui	F	Ngati Rakiwakaputa

Source: *AJHR*, G-16, 1886, p.4.

²⁷¹ For an excellent discussion of the origins of Kāi Tahu hapū see Anderson, 1998, pp. 25-62.

Burns accounts for 21 of the 23 people listed by Mantell in 1853, evidence that this was a relatively stable population. Given this stability it is significant that Mantell recorded three 'Half-castes living with Natives' but no 'Half-Castes living with Europeans.'²⁷³ The exclusion of the latter may suggest that they were not seen by Mantell to be Kāi Tahu; possibly because of the physical and social spaces they did or did not inhabit. There is also a possibility that those Kāi Tahu listed by Mantell did not approve of including these 'half-caste' children of whalers as Kāi Tahu. However, this is not borne out by the population count recorded by Mantell in his journal. This journal elucidates the situation at Taieri by giving their age, kinship relationships and comments about 'race'. Of the 23 listed above, Mantell lists four as 'half-caste'. They include Rawiri Gimlet aged nine; Wallace Paipai aged eight; Jane Muheke aged eight; and Tera Tureti Rahui aged eleven.²⁷⁴ In an 1876 list, these four children were listed as 'Half-castes in 1853 living with natives.'²⁷⁵ Taking the age of these children into account it seems that they were living at the Taieri kāika and had to be included in the list as opposed to the 'half-caste' children of whalers who were living outside the kāika and thus were not included. Therefore, inclusion as Kāi Tahu in 1853 had a great deal to do with place of residence and kinship ties.

By 1857, the 'native' population of Taieri was recorded at 31.²⁷⁶ Again, the 'half-caste' population was invisible in the statistics, suggesting that they were viewed by the enumerator on behalf of the Commissioner of Native Reserves under whose auspices the population count was conducted, as either quite separate from Kāi Tahu, or indistinct. A year later, the population was demographically stable at 31 individuals.²⁷⁷ Those 31 residents were noted to have twenty acres in cultivation and ten dwellings in 1859.²⁷⁸ In 1867 Taieri's population had increased to 58.²⁷⁹

²⁷² Burns Visitation Book, 24 December 1852, pp.134-135 (OSM).

²⁷³ W. B. D. Mantell Letterbook, p. 59, qMS-1308, (ATL).

²⁷⁴ Ibid., pp.137-138.

²⁷⁵ *AJHR*, G-9, 1876, p. 23.

²⁷⁶ Table 2, 'Aboriginal Native Population of New Zealand, in the year 1857,' *Statistics of New Zealand for 1857*, (Auckland, Government Printer, 1858).

²⁷⁷ *AJHR*, E-4, 1858, p. 17.

²⁷⁸ 'Maori History', p. 31, Box 4, Folder 27, No. 28, W. A. Taylor Papers, (CM).

Other sources give a further indication of persons of mixed descent living in the vicinity of Maitapapa. In particular, the investigations into the ‘half-caste’ land claims of the 1870s and 1880s generated a review of many of the early population counts for the purpose of examining the accuracy of these claims. As part of these investigations, Alexander Mackay published a return of ‘Half-castes residing at Places outside the Ngaitahu [Canterbury] and Murihiku [Southland] Blocks at the date of those Purchases and subsequently, for whom Provision should be made.’ This return listed individuals by name, place of birth, their residence in 1874 (date of the return) and their place of abode in the relevant population figures of 1848 and 1853. The return confirms that Elizabeth Crane (nee Palmer) was a resident of Taieri in 1853, as was her sister Mere Kui, as well as John McKenzie. In addition to the names listed by Mantell and Burns we can add the Hunter family – Charles, Louisa, John and David – who were recorded as having been born at Taieri and resident there in 1853, 1854, 1856 and 1860 respectively.²⁸⁰ The presence of these families at Taieri is also confirmed by the baptismal records of Bishop Harper, who visited Taieri in 1856, 1857, 1862 and 1864 finding the Crane, Hunter, Brown and Palmer families in residence at ‘Taieri Village’ rather than the kāika.²⁸¹

The development of a distinct community based on ‘race’ is explained by the fact that the majority of the former whalers who were living outside the kāika in 1852 were widowers.²⁸² In short, the absence of a Kāi Tahu partner and mother rendered it difficult to be accepted into the Kāi Tahu settlement at Taieri. In combination with their migrant status, their widower status gave these men fewer ties to the kāika. Nevertheless, their children were the cultural bridge between the communities.

²⁷⁹ *Statistics of New Zealand for 1867 including the results of a Census of the Colony taken in December of that year* (Wellington, Government Printer, 1869), Appendix C. Also see *AJHR*, 1861, E-7, p. 38.

²⁸⁰ *AJHR*, G-9, 1876, pp. 19-20.

²⁸¹ The Register of Bishop Harper’s Country Baptism Book, 1851-1890, pp. 2, 18, 23, (CPL).

²⁸² Burns Visitation Book, (OSM).

Conclusion

Kāi Tahu experienced a range of encounters from the late 1820s to the early 1850s, which were economic, social, political and cultural in nature in a period of contact that included whalers, missionaries and officials. A central aspect of the whaling encounter was intermarriage, which was gendered female in indigenous communities. Indeed, it played a key part in the establishment and survival of stations on the southern coast. For Kāi Tahu woman Patahi, marriage to a whaler and consequent abandonment represented personal loss and displacement. In her case, intermarriage was a 'contact zone' in which interaction, dialogue, negotiation, disjuncture and conflict took place. Through Patahi's story intermarriage can also be understood as a very personal encounter, which includes a range of experiences and outcomes. By contrast, Koronaki's marriage to John Howell in 1845 represents the beginning of a shift in Pākehā male marriage patterns from 'full-blood' to 'half-caste' women as marriage partners and the movement towards the mission station as a site where the marriage ceremony was enacted. From the 1840s missionaries in southern New Zealand introduced western marriage practices as part of the wider missionary goal of 'civilization.' The outcome of these years of intermarriage was the production of a mixed descent population amongst Kāi Tahu generally and Maitapapa more specifically. Missionaries and colonial officials recorded the growth of the mixed descent population somewhat inconsistently, but their statistics indicate that by the 1860s the 'half-caste' population at Maitapapa was ethnically and spatially distinct. As Chapter Three demonstrates, this mixed descent population was to have a disruptive effect on the question of land rights at the Taieri Native Reserve in the 1860s as its numbers increased.

3

BOUNDARIES, 1844-1868

Introduction

This chapter examines how boundaries at Taieri have been drawn in a number of ways by Kāi Tahu, the New Zealand Company, surveyors, and the Native Land Court and how these boundaries have been transgressed. The purchase of the Otago Block by the New Zealand Company in 1844 set the scene for the systematic colonization of Otago from 1848 by Scottish settlers. The Otago Purchase and organized settlement heralded great changes for Kāi Tahu in the Otago region. In the process of colonization, Kāi Tahu sites of occupation were overwritten with new British settlements, and new external boundaries of Kāi Tahu occupation were established. The establishment of native reserves from unsold lands in the Otago Purchase represented the restriction of Kāi Tahu to a new set of boundaries, prescribed first by the New Zealand Company and its surveyors and then by the colonial state. British colonization was followed by the establishment of state apparatus, and from 1856 the colonial legislature began to consider native lands legislation, providing for the Native Land Court which would regulate land titles. After British colonization “territoriality and boundaries soon became incorporated into a colonial policy of extensive alienation based on European concepts of property definition, measurement, subdivision and valuation.”²⁸³

For the Kāi Tahu families of Maitapapa, the purchase of the Otago Block in 1844 saw the establishment of a native reserve at Taieri from land ‘excepted’ from purchase by Kāi Tahu chiefs; it consisted of 2310 acres situated on the northern bank of the Taieri River. This chapter examines the establishment, survey and laying out of

²⁸³ Atholl Anderson, “Kin and Border: Traditional land boundaries in East Polynesia and New Zealand with particular reference to the northern boundary of Ngai Tahu,” Wai-785, 2003, p. 2.

the Taieri Native Reserve from the purchase of the Otago Block in 1844 until its division by the Native Land Court title determination processes in 1868. It examines the impact on the Kāi Tahu and mixed descent families of Taieri of western, legal and fixed boundaries prescribed by the state. A growing mixed descent population seen in Chapter Two contributed to conflict over boundaries and property rights at the reserve. This chapter explores the ways in which surveyors and the Native Land Court laid down the internal and external boundaries of the reserve in official practice, and how Taieri Kāi Tahu and those of mixed descent crossed these physical boundaries through intermarriage.

Inscribing the Landscape

In the colonization process naming plays an important part, for both indigenous and western societies, in the marking of territory and boundaries. Over a decade has passed since Paul Carter introduced the concept of spatial history to understand how colonization is written onto the landscape through the naming and memorialization of sites and events by travellers and explorers.²⁸⁴ In New Zealand, Giselle Byrnes has centred the work of surveyors and colonial officials in her examination of reinscribing the landscape through naming practices and mappings.²⁸⁵ According to Byrnes, in the naming of the land the surveyor colonized places through the tool of language, acting as “assertions of colonising power.”²⁸⁶ It is the naming of the land, the act of transforming a landscape from an unknown space to a known place, which acted to marginalize and over-write what Byrnes refers to as the ‘Maori cadastre.’²⁸⁷

²⁸⁴ Paul Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay: An Exploration of Landscape and History*, (New York, Knopf, 1988).

²⁸⁵ Giselle Byrnes, *Boundary Markers: land surveying and the colonization of New Zealand*, (Wellington, Bridget Williams Books, 2001).

²⁸⁶ Byrnes, 2001, p. 4. Giselle M. Byrnes, “Affixing Names to Places: Colonial surveying and the construction of colonial space,” *New Zealand Studies*, 8, 1, 1998, p. 22. Also see Kristina Kirk, “Representing the Environment: naming places in Te Wai Pounamu,” (MA, University of Canterbury, 1999).

²⁸⁷ Byrnes, 2001, p. 92.

The lists of traditional place names of the lower Taieri recorded by Pākehā amateur historians such as William Taylor, John Bowie, Herries Beattie, Frederick Chapman and W. H. S. Roberts²⁸⁸ attest to the re-naming practices of colonial surveyors, as do the maps and plans of the region under study. Allanton is a prime example of the role played by surveying and naming in the transformation of the landscape. Its traditional name was Owhiro, but this was quickly replaced by Scrogg's Creek, named after one of the early surveyors of the Taieri. It was later called Greytown in honour of Governor George Grey and was finally re-named Allanton after James Allan, a prominent early settler.²⁸⁹ Many of the names over-written onto traditional place names were Scottish or English in origin, reflecting the origins of the settlers in the region. Maitapapa, first recorded by the surveyor Frederick Tuckett on his sketch map for the New Zealand Company, is better known today as Henley, a name deriving from a town in Oxfordshire, England.²⁹⁰

While the creation of boundaries and re-definition of landscapes through naming, mapping and surveying was undertaken in the colonial period, symbolizing the impact of colonization in terms of land loss and alienation, similar practices played out in indigenous society. Simon Schama argues that people construct a landscape through cultural perceptions or 'cultural design'. Specifically, landscape traditions are "built from a rich deposit of myths, memories, and obsessions" that act to construct histories and give weight to memories of significant places, of homelands as well as national identity.²⁹¹ For Māori in general and Kāi Tahu in particular, a key aspect of this 'cultural design' described by Schama includes spiritual connections to a place as embodied in myth and tradition, as well as waiata or song, and place names.²⁹²

²⁸⁸ See Sharron Bray, Graeme Thomas and Victor MacGill, *Under the Eye of the Saddle Hill Taniwha*, (Dunedin, Mosgiel Public Library, 1998). A list of the traditional place names of the lower Taieri Gorge is in Box 1, Folder 1, pp. 118-122, W. A. Taylor Papers, (CM).

²⁸⁹ Bray et al, p. 5.

²⁹⁰ Bray et al, p. 6. G. F. Davis, "Old Identities and New Iniquities: The Taieri Plain in Otago Province, 1770-1870," (MA, University of Otago, 1974), p. 51.

²⁹¹ Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory*, (London, HarperCollins, 1995), pp. 14-15.

²⁹² See Ailsa Smith, "Taranaki Waiata Tangi and Feelings for Place," (PhD, Lincoln University, 2001) and Khyla Russell, "Landscape: Perceptions of Kai Tahu," (PhD, University of Otago, 2000).

As Te Maire Tau has illustrated, the Kāi Tahu migration from the lower North Island to the South Island can be mapped and understood through the practice of naming the landscape.²⁹³ This re-naming took place not only to make the landscape familiar but as a way of claiming ownership and marking new sites of occupation in familiar terms that were remembered with reference to whakapapa and oral traditions. The myths, traditions and whakapapa attached to Maitapapa are the means through which the Kāi Tahu boundaries of the lower Taieri can be understood. But because boundary formation was attached to natural features the boundaries of a territory could be expansive. For Kāi Tahu, states Atholl Anderson:

Boundary-making relied on the coupled processes of landscape recognition and naming; of comprehending topographic patterns through the shape and direction of ridges, rivers and coastlines and of applying names, commonly with recognizable lineage connections, to every feature. ... The main canoe traditions describe a common set of colonising behaviours in which extensive areas of land were publicly claimed by the leading men, usually in advance of their exploration. This was followed by a phase of exploration in which smaller areas were appropriated and marked by the chiefs of exploring parties. While many kinds of rights in land and other property were not those of ownership I have little doubt that the objective of this early behaviour was indeed land *ownership*, in any ordinary sense of the word.²⁹⁴

The boundary of a territory was marked by posts, urupā, ancestral names, cultivations, seasonal activities such as rat-trapping and natural features. It was with reference to natural features and landmarks such as ridges that Kāi Tahu named their boundaries in the Otago Purchase of 1844.²⁹⁵ In this case natural features assisted in the demarcation of a well-defined boundary. Preciseness, however, did not mean that disputes about ownership or rights of access to a territory did not take place.

Boundary formation was a key part of colonization of new areas and was linked to status and property rights. Because, argues Anderson, property rights were

²⁹³ Te Maire Tau, "Ngāi Tahu and the Canterbury Landscape – A Broad Context," in John Cookson and Graeme Dunstall (eds.), *Southern Capital: Christchurch: Towards a City Biography, 1850-2000*, (Christchurch, University of Canterbury Press, 2000), pp. 41-59.

²⁹⁴ Anderson, 2003, pp. 49-50.

²⁹⁵ Ibid., pp. 73-74.

not shared and were held exclusively at the individual and hapū level, disputes over rights were also disputes about boundaries.²⁹⁶ Boundaries, settlement and property rights were about whakapapa. Anderson state that some of the “better methods of attempting to unravel the history of land-holding at hapu or iwi levels are those which use evidence in which narratives about place are intimately attached to [the] specification of persons.”²⁹⁷ Demonstration of rights through whakapapa was thus central to confirm claims to a given territory or boundaries. Given the importance of whakapapa in claiming rights to land, Anderson states that there is thus a close relationship between territory, boundaries and status.²⁹⁸

Place names serve as ‘oral survey pegs,’²⁹⁹ and are important to understanding the waves of Kāti Māmoe and Kāi Tahu occupation at lower Taieri. It is along the banks of the river that traditional place names are concentrated, underlining its significance as a travel route, as an economic and food resource, as a camping ground, and as a site of seasonal and permanent settlement. In short, the presence or absence of place names indicates the importance of an area to inhabitants and enables one to trace patterns of use and occupation. Similarly, the concentration of place names in a certain area provides evidence of its continual occupation and re-occupation. While the pā sites of Omoua, Whakaruapuka and Te Amoka are barely in existence today due to the impact of new forms of land use, which has made it “impossible to locate landforms and sites of significance to Maori”³⁰⁰ at Taieri, place names in conjunction with whakapapa, waiata, legends and oral traditions point to the significance of the lower Taieri region to Kāti Māmoe and Kāi Tahu.

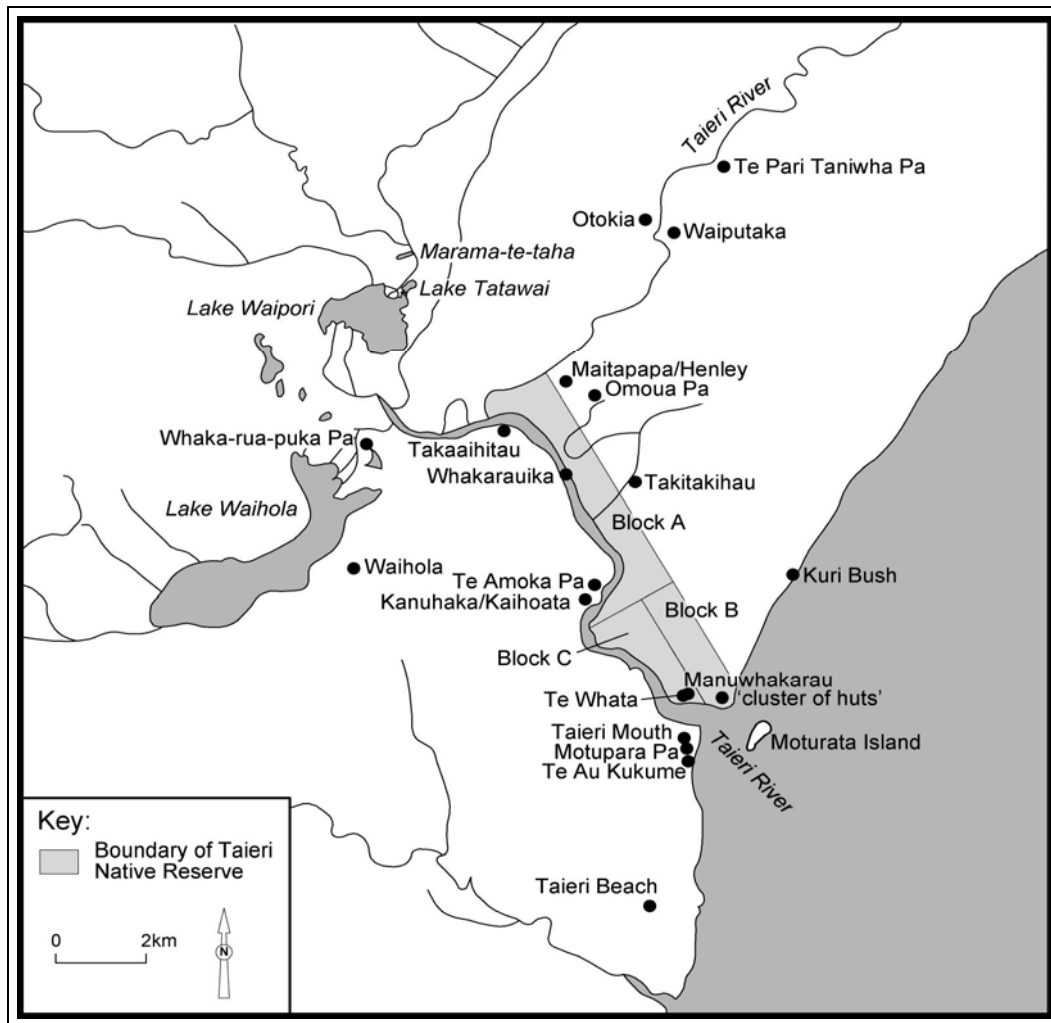
²⁹⁶ Ibid., pp. 3-4.

²⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 143.

²⁹⁸ Ibid.

²⁹⁹ Ngahuia Dixon, ‘The Power of Place in the Maori Psyche,’ Connections: From Local to Global, New Zealand Historical Association Conference, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand, 1-3 December 2001.

³⁰⁰ Bray et al, p.iv.



Map 2: Lower Taieri Place Names

It is through the re-settlement of places, the re-writing of place names and the addition of new layers of tradition, that geographical boundaries are always being transgressed by cultural imperatives. Prior to the 1830s, Kāti Māmoe occupation of the lower Taieri district - in particular on the northern and southern banks of the Taieri River, on Moturata Island and near Lake Waiholā - had been longstanding. Author, amateur ethnographer and journalist Arthur Carrington's record of Kāi Tahu migration traditions locates a number of pā in the lower Taieri, including that of Tukiaua, a Kāti Māmoe chief formerly of the Pariwhakatau Pā in the Kaikoura district who fled to the lower Taieri, establishing a pā at the north end of Lake

Waihola known as Whaka-Rua-Puka, now Ram Island.³⁰¹ According to Carrington and Beattie, Tukiauau fled to the Taieri after his involvement in the murder of the Kāti Kuri chief, Manawa. The son of Manawa, Te Ruahikihiki, was eventually to settle at Taumutu, south of Lake Waihora/Ellesmere, causing Tukiauau and his followers to resettle at Rakiura/Stewart Island.

While Tukiauau was resident at Taieri, Tuwiri-roa, a Kāti Māmoe³⁰² chief was living at the mouth of the Taieri River at Motupara pā.³⁰³ Tuwiri-roa was originally from the Kāti Māmoe settlement of Tititea near present Queenstown. After the death of a Kāi Tahu woman at the kāika, a war party arrived at the gates, at which Tuwiri-roa and his followers retreated to the Taieri.³⁰⁴ At the same time, Omoua pā was occupied by Tama Kaipapa, Tu Hoki Kairaki and Moua.³⁰⁵ There was also a Kāti Māmoe pā located on Moua Hill, behind Henley and a pā located up the Taieri River at Te Amoka which was established by a visiting Ngāti Kahungunu war party.³⁰⁶ This pā, known as Tu Paritaniwha, was located between Allanton and Otokia and situated north of Omoua pā on the northern bank of the Taieri River.³⁰⁷

While Tu Paritaniwha near Momona, Omoua Pā above Maitapapa/Henley, Maitapapa the flat land below Omoua Pā and Takaaihitau/Taieri Ferry were the more permanent settlements in the lower Taieri region,³⁰⁸ there were also a number of villages located along pockets of flat land on the northern and southern banks of the

³⁰¹ A. H. Carrington, *The story of the invasion and occupation of the South Island of New Zealand by the descendants of Tahu-Potiki*, 1934, MS, pp. 50-56, (Ann Parsonson Collection).

³⁰² *Otago Daily Times*, 3 August 1929, MS-582/A/6, (HL).

³⁰³ Carrington, 1934, p. 58, note 4.

³⁰⁴ Atholl Anderson, "Maori Settlement in the Interior of Southern New Zealand from the Early 18th to Late 19th Centuries A. D." *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 91, 1982, p. 56.

³⁰⁵ Gwen Sutherland, *Coast, Road and River: The Story of Taieri Mouth, Taieri Beach, Glenledi and Akatore*, (Invercargill, Clutha Leader Print, 1962), p. 8. W. H. S. Roberts, *Maori Nomenclature: Early History of Otago*, (Dunedin, Otago Daily Times and Witness Newspapers, 1910), p. 6. R. O. Carrick, *Historical Records of New Zealand South prior to 1840*, (Dunedin, Otago Daily Times and Witness Newspapers, 1903), p. 190. Herries Beattie, "Traditions and Legends Collected from the Natives of Murihiku (Southland, New Zealand)," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 25, 1916, pp. 9-11. Atholl Anderson, *The Welcome of Strangers*, (Dunedin, University of Otago Press, 1998), pp. 43-45.

³⁰⁶ Carrington, 1934, pp. 74-75.

³⁰⁷ W. A. Taylor, "The Taieri," *The Press*, 2/2/1939, Newspaper Clippings, Box 10, Folder 80, No. 3, Taylor Papers, (CM).

³⁰⁸ Gail Tipa, *Environmental Performance Indicators: Taieri River Case Study*, (Wellington, Ministry for the Environment, 1999), pp. 6-7. Gwen Sutherland, p. 7. Ronald J. Stuart, *Henley, Taieri Ferry and Otokia: A Schools and District History*, (Outram, 1981), p. 17.

Taieri River. According to Bathgate, the village-type settlement was developed in response to trade from around 1800, acting as places where food and other resources were exchanged, while also serving as the main winter settlements.³⁰⁹ Takaaihitau, referred to as the traditional kāika by Ronald Stuart, was settled in 1825 by Takanau, a Kāi Tahu chief from Taumutu and his followers.³¹⁰ On the northern bank at the mouth of the river was the fishing village Te Au Kukume, which Atholl Anderson identifies as one of three nineteenth century settlements consisting of a cluster of huts sighted and recorded in 1843 and 1844 on the northern bank and the third and largest settlement, sited at Maitapapa/Henley.³¹¹ Te Au Kukume was located above the flat land of Te Whata/Palmer's Gully where the village of Manuwhakarau was situated.³¹² Another small village was Kanuhaka or Kaihoaka at Excelsior Bay.³¹³ It is also believed that Whakarauika or Craigie's Island was occupied for brief periods.³¹⁴ Further inland, near the entrance of the Taieri Gorge was the nucleated village of Waiputaka.³¹⁵ In addition, to the west of Maramatetaha/Lake Ascog was a pā of the same name that was located, according to Beattie's informant, on a small hill near Berwick.³¹⁶ While there is very little known about the history of these pā and villages, these settlements indicate that the lower Taieri district has been inhabited over a long period by a range of groups.

Numerous traditional place names testify to the mobile and seasonal nature of Kāi Tahu coastal settlement, providing a map of Kāi Tahu mahika kai trails,³¹⁷ as well

³⁰⁹ M. A. Bathgate, "The Maori Occupancy of Murihiku, 1000-1900 A. D.: A Geographic Study of Change," (MA (Hons), Geography, University of Otago, 1969), p. 201.

³¹⁰ Bray et al., p.25. Stuart, 1981, p. 17. W. H. Sherwood Roberts, *Place Names and Early History of Otago and Southland*, (Invercargill, Southland Times, 1913), p.35. W. H. S. Roberts, 1910, p. 7. Herries Beattie recorded that a Kāti Huirapa chief named Tokenui, a 'refugee' from Te Rauparaha, also settled at the Taieri. General Maori Information Book 7, p. 23, PC-178, (HL).

³¹¹ Atholl Anderson, *Otakou Evidence for the Ngai Tahu Claim Before the Waitangi Tribunal*, November 1987, (Wai 27), p. 5.

³¹² W. A. Taylor, 1952, p.181. Bray et al, p. 8. Sutherland, p. 9.

³¹³ Bray et al., p. 6. Sutherland, p. 9.

³¹⁴ Bray et al, p. 9. Sutherland, p. 9.

³¹⁵ Bray et al., pp. 33-34.

³¹⁶ "The Taieri," *The Press*, 2/2/1939, Newspaper Clippings, Box 10, Folder 80, No. 3, Taylor Papers, (CM). H. Beattie, "Traditions and Legends Collected from the Natives of Murihiku (Southland, New Zealand)," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 24, 1915, p. 138.

³¹⁷ See Hoani Korehe Kahu, "Pukapuka o Wahi Mahika Kai," Beattie Notebook, MS 582/F/11, (HL).

as pointing to the volatile nature of the political situation inhabited by the preceding tupuna. The lower Taieri was no exception. The rocky headland on the north side of the river mouth was known as Murikauhaka and its bay was Te Whata.³¹⁸ A tributary of the Taieri River was Paruparāwa or Muddy Gully and its creek the Waikoura, while Te Maikaumai is now Governor's Chimney and the land now known as the Taieri Scenic Reserve on the north bank of the river was Parikoau.³¹⁹ Humbug Reach was Tetutaeatehana believed to be named for a chieftainess, Te Hana, who is also remembered in the opposite bay; Pukekura or Te Kura was the name of the hill beyond the bend in the river which marks the end of Humbug Reach.³²⁰ Further, the oral evidence and recollections of informants collected by Herries Beattie, Sherwood Roberts and Robert Chapman contain a wealth of information about mahika kai, including the description of sites and gathering practices as well as being indicators of use, occupation and the exercise of rights. This oral evidence is neither exhaustive nor analytical but these recollections constitute a significant source of information about nineteenth century Kāi Tahu economic, social and cultural practices. Many traditional names, however, did not make it onto the surveyors' maps.

Restricting Boundaries

The laying out of the native reserve at the time of the Otago Purchase in 1844 ultimately restricted Kāi Tahu settlement to Maitapapa, instigating a process of re-writing the traditional pattern of settlement and occupation in the lower Taieri region. As noted in the preceding section, Kāti Mamoe and Kāi Tahu settlement in the lower Taieri is embodied in tradition as well as place names. Despite this evidence of continuous settlement in the region, Maitapapa was not a traditional site of Kāi Tahu occupation having only been settled from the 1830s by Kāi Tahu from what is now the Canterbury region fleeing Te Rauparaha and the Ngāti Toa raids. With western encounters in the form of British settlement, reserve policy and surveying practices

³¹⁸ 'Taieri Mouth and its Surrounding Districts,' MS, (Win Parkes Collection), p. 25.

³¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 5-6.

³²⁰ Ibid., p.10.

Maitapapa was written as the central site of permanent occupation. The centring of Maitapapa was built upon a history of cultural encounters beginning with whaling stations. These stations acted as a catalyst for the clustering of Kāi Tahu into sites where such stations were in operation, thereby altering settlement patterns and disrupting sites of traditional occupation. It was through this process of localizing the Kāi Tahu population that Maitapapa became a focal point for settlement and was written into settler history and remembered as such.

The purchase of the Otago Block in 1844 paved the way for British colonization based on a set of fixed boundaries outlined in the deed of purchase, but difficulties experienced by the New Zealand Company delayed the settlement of Otago until 1848. In July 1844, 533,600 acres of land in Otago was purchased by William Wakefield on behalf of the New Zealand Company from 21 Kāi Tahu chiefs and principal men of the Otākou rohe for 2400 pounds.³²¹ The New Zealand Company's Otago Purchase was the first phase in a planned colonization scheme in the South Island known as 'New Edinburgh'; it was promoted by Scots and envisioned as Scottish in character. While the Otago Block was purchased in 1844, the first Scottish settlers did not arrive in Dunedin until 1848. Between 1844 and 1846 Lord Stanley, the Secretary of State for the Colonies was hostile to the New Zealand Company directors, and thus the Company experienced difficulties in having their title to the land recognized. Therefore, the colonization of Otago was threatened and the survey of the Otago Block was suspended. Subsequently, in 1845 responsibility for promoting the colony was taken over by the Lay Association of Members of the Free Church of Scotland.³²²

³²¹ Waitangi Tribunal, *The Ngai Tahu Report 1991*, (Wellington, Tribunal, 1991), pp. 281-282. For an excellent summary of the Otago Purchase see Harry C. Evison, *The Long Dispute: Maori Land Rights and European Colonisation in Southern New Zealand*, (Christchurch, Canterbury University Press, 1993). The Governor had waived the Crown's right of pre-emption to allow this purchase to take place. See *Ngai Tahu Report*, pp. 295-296. It is also important to note that the size of the purchase block was given at the time as 400,000 acres, but it is now known to be the larger amount.

³²² A. H. McLintock, *The history of Otago: the origins and growth of a Wakefield class settlement*, (Dunedin, Otago Historical Centennial Publications, 1949), p. 203.

Soon after the establishment of the Lay Association the Otago scheme was revived, quickly followed by the establishment of the settlement and arrival of the first settlers. In 1846, a new British ministry and a more sympathetic Secretary of State for the Colonies in the form of Earl Grey saw the revival of the New Zealand Company scheme to settle Otago. In the same year, the New Zealand Company and the Scottish Lay Association of the Free Church formed the Otago Association, with the Scottish Lay Association in charge of promoting settlement and selecting the immigrants, and the New Zealand Company responsible for the survey of land.³²³ In February 1846, Charles Kettle arrived to lay out the town of Dunedin and survey the suburban and rural lands within the Otago Block. The requirements of the Otago Association included provision for religion and education, and land available for agricultural development. The fertile lands of the Taieri Plains were ideally situated for these requirements. William and Margaret Jaffray settled on the Taieri in 1848, while other Taieri family names included Macredies, Black, Ferrier and Reid.³²⁴

From the date of the Otago Purchase in 1844 the external and internal boundaries of the Taieri Native Reserve were mapped, named and subdivided initially through the practices of New Zealand Company surveyors, then Crown surveyors and finally the Native Land Court and its officials. The reports and letters of these officials give an insight into the nature of the country they traversed as well as the pattern of Kāi Tahu occupation at lower Taieri. Frederick Tuckett, the New Zealand Company surveyor, traversed the Otago Block in 1844 in search of a suitable town site. At Taieri, Tuckett found a large navigable river ideal for communication and a valley “about 15 miles long and four wide, a great portion of which is swamps in its present state.”³²⁵ In addition to water communication, Tuckett also found inland lagoons, ‘fine available land’, and manuka on the banks of Lake Waihola.³²⁶ In the lower Taieri Gorge, signs of habitation were found by Tuckett at the point where the Taieri

³²³ Ibid., pp. 206-207.

³²⁴ Davis, pp. 91-94.

³²⁵ 6/5/1844, J. W. Barnicoat Journal, p. 54, MS-0440/01 (HL).

³²⁶ Ibid., 6/6/1844, p.62.

River leaves the plain and enters the gorge. Here Te Raki “has a warri [sic] in which he occasionally resides” and further south was “another warre of Teraki’s”, nearby there was grassland “in cultivation as a Maori garden.”³²⁷ Another native garden was noted by Tuckett “on one side of the hills overhanging the River in which the earth was prevented from sliding to the bottom by means of trunks of small trees laid along the side of the hill and fixed by pegs to the ground.”³²⁸ Taieri’s waterways and agricultural possibilities saw it included as part of the land selected by Tuckett for the proposed New Zealand Company settlement, excluding the “two clearings of Te Raki . . . at the mouth of the Taieri; the other, on the plain at the east bank of the river.”³²⁹

Tuckett was not the only surveyor to traverse the Otago Block in search of suitable sites for British settlement. In February 1846 Tuckett’s replacement and later Otago’s first surveyor, Charles Kettle, undertook a journey from Dunedin to the Molyneux River to explore and inspect the land in between for settlement. The purpose of Kettle’s survey was to “determine whether the general survey of the Settlement should be accompanied by means of the trigometrical survey,” which would enable the reservation of sites for future towns.³³⁰ His route took him through the Taieri Plains. He found the lower plains to be swampy and in need of drainage if the area under survey was to be settled and transformed into productive farm land.³³¹ In his survey and mapping of the lower Taieri Plains, which encompassed the Maitapapa settlement, Kettle found that the waterways were a significant attraction for settlement:

I was detained a whole day at the Native settlement called Maitapapa as there was no boat to ferry us across the river. As soon as Te Raki’s boat arrived I started to examine the small lake called Panaka. The banks are generally swampy excepting on the west side where there are low hills and some wooded land. I made a careful compass sketch of the River which communicates with this and the Waihola Lake. . . . The value of these waters as a means of communication will be found inestimable.³³²

³²⁷ Ibid., 7/6/1844, p.62.

³²⁸ Ibid., 8/6/1844, p.62.

³²⁹ Tuckett to Wakefield, cited in Davis, p.32.

³³⁰ 7/5/1846, Kettle Letterbook, MS-0083, (HL).

³³¹ Ibid.

³³² Ibid.

In 1844 Tuckett had found little remnant of habitation, except for “two or three decent huts made of Totara bark and as many raised stages for Potatoe [sic] stores still we found no inhabitants or canoes.”³³³ However, two years later Kettle noted in his survey of the Taieri River that there was a ‘native village’ situated up the river “where one arm diverges northward through the plain and another southward towards the Waihola Lake.”³³⁴ Obviously, Maitapapa was being used seasonally but it was by no means the only Kāi Tahu settlement in the lower Taieri in seasonal occupation during the 1840s.

The colonization of the Otago Block was tied to its successful purchase, in which Kāi Tahu requested lands to be exempted. Under the Otago Purchase of 1844 Taieri was one of three areas excepted from purchase at the request of Kāi Tahu chiefs. With lands at Te Karoro and Otākou Heads, the total excepted was 9615 acres. Before the deed was signed, a survey of the ground took place to identify the areas exempt from purchase. The party comprised John Symonds, representative of the Crown, George Clarke the Sub-Protector of Aborigines, Frederick Tuckett the New Zealand Company surveyor, and Daniel Wakefield, the New Zealand Company representative. Also in the party were six unnamed Kāi Tahu chiefs who named landmarks of spiritual and cultural significance that formed the boundary of the purchase and chose the lands they wished to retain.

The establishment of the Taieri Native Reserve out of exempted land significantly altered the boundaries of Kāi Tahu occupation of the lower Taieri. The boundaries of ‘unsold’ lands were described in the Deed of Purchase. The Taieri reserve, named Onumia, consisted of a “narrow strip of land, a mile wide at its narrowest part, which stretches along the northern bank of the Taieri River.”³³⁵ Under the Deed of Purchase it was described as being “bounded on the north by a line drawn from Onumia on the sea shore in a west north-west direction, till it strikes the Taieri River at Maitapapa; on the West and South by the Taieri River; and on the East by the

³³³ Tuckett cited in Davis, p.50.

³³⁴ 26/9/1846, Kettle Letterbook, MS-0083, (HL).

³³⁵ Daphne Lemon, *More Taieri Buildings*, (Dunedin, John McIndoe, 1972), p. 35.

sea shore.”³³⁶ This fixed boundary gives little indication of the manner in which Kāi Tahu understood and marked the boundaries of the Taieri, nor the significance of Taieri to them. First, the Taieri Block was situated near inland lakes and a large swamp rich in food sources. Lakes Tatawai, Potaka and Maramatetaha, as well as other numerous eeling sites, such as Kaokaoiroroa near the Waihola township, Owiti near Clarendon and Kawhakatuatea north of Waihola were located in the immediate vicinity of the Maitapapa kāika and reserve.³³⁷ Second, as Tuckett found in his traverse of Otago in 1844, the land along the northern bank of the Taieri River was occupied and included cultivations and gardens. Third, the cultural significance of the area as a traditional urupā saw it exempt from purchase in 1844. In his will of 1876 Korako Karetai stated that his land “at Taiari is a burying ground the name of that land is kaikatearao I will leave it to my five children and their descendants after them.”³³⁸ Karetai’s bequest confirms George Clarke’s statement before the 1879 Smith-Nairn Commission that Kāi Tahu were anxious to retain not only Taieri, but also Otākou and Te Karoro, because they were significant burial-places.³³⁹

Significantly, the three blocks set aside under the Otago Purchase, Taieri, Otākou and Te Karoro, were not reserved land but exemptions from purchase or unsold land. However, these excepted lands were referred to as ‘reserves’ in the English text of the Deed of Purchase. These lands generated some anxiety amongst colonial officials, primarily because they were neither legally designated reserves nor land that had been purchased by the Crown for that purpose.³⁴⁰ Indeed, these ‘reserved lands’ constituted the few areas of land that initially remained under Kāi Tahu control and management because customary title had not been extinguished. Alexander Mackay, Commissioner of Native Reserves in the South Island, referred to

³³⁶ Crown Grant of the Otakou Block to the New Zealand Company, in Alexander Mackay, *A Compendium of Official Documents Relative to Native Affairs in the South Island Volume II*, (Wellington, Government Printer, 1872), p. 374.

³³⁷ Box 1, Folder 1, p. 121, W. A. Taylor Papers, (CM).

³³⁸ Will of Korako Karetai, Deeds Register Book, Vol. 73, p. 750, (LINZ-D).

³³⁹ George Clarke to Commissioner of Land Purchases, 7/4/1880, Appendix 33, p.4, MA 67/8 (ANZ-W).

³⁴⁰ Ann Parsonson, *Otago Tenth's*, Evidence for the Ngāi Tahu Claim to the Waitangi Tribunal, 1987, (Wai-27), p. 52.

lands excluded from purchase, such as those in Otago, as “occupation reserves.”³⁴¹ Therefore, while the fixed external boundary of the reserve was described in the Deed of Purchase, Kāi Tahu remained in control of the internal boundaries of the reserve.³⁴² However, with the establishment of the colonial state the external boundary of the reserve was soon to be transgressed by colonial officials.

The ways in which native reserves were understood and managed in the period 1844 to 1868 are complex and differ depending on the policy in force at the time of their creation. In Otago, Kāi Tahu and the New Zealand Company agreed on the lands to be excluded from purchase; these were denoted ‘reserves’ but were not included in the Crown Grant to the New Zealand Company. By 1848 the manner in which reserves were dealt with was very different. In that year Governor Grey’s despatch to Earl Grey explicitly stated his policy on native reserves. ‘Reserves’ were to be included in the purchase boundary of a block thereby extinguishing native title to that land.³⁴³ Thus in 1848, there were two categories of ‘native reserves’ in New Zealand, those included in, and those excepted from, a purchase block. The key difference between these two categories was that lands excepted from purchase did not have native title extinguished and thus remained under customary ownership. This second category of ‘reserve’ applies in the case of Taieri specifically and Otago generally.

With the establishment of a colonial parliament in New Zealand under the New Zealand Constitution Act 1852, native land legislation was implemented which undermined Kāi Tahu control of their remaining lands. From 1856 a series of laws relating to native reserves was enacted by the new parliament designed to deal with their management. Under the Native Reserves Act 1856, Commissioners of Native Reserves were appointed in panels of three in each province. Unlike other provinces, a

³⁴¹ Alexander Mackay, Memorandum on the origination and management of Native Reserves in the Southern Islands in Mackay, *Compendium Volume II*, p. 263.

³⁴² In the deed of purchase it was stated that Kāi Tahu did agree not to sell or let these lands without the sanction of the Governor. *Ngai Tahu Report*, pp. 1975-1076.

³⁴³ George Grey to Earl Grey, 15/5/1848, *GBPP*, 1847-50, p. 25. Harry C. Evison, *Te Wai Pounamu: The Greenstone Island. A history of the southern Maori during the European colonization of New Zealand*, (Christchurch, Aoraki Press, 1993), p. 178.

panel of four commissioners was established in Otago.³⁴⁴ Section 14 of the Act defined a reserve as land where customary title had been extinguished and thus management of reserves by native commissioners did not extend to exempted lands.³⁴⁵ While under the 1856 Act unsold lands could be classified as reserves with the consent of Māori, Kāi Tahu rarely vested the management of their land in native commissioners in Otago, preferring to maintain customary title over their lands.³⁴⁶ As a consequence, the Native Commissioners in Otago had a very limited administrative function. W. H. Cutten, the Commissioner of Crown Lands for Otago, expressed the key problem of operating the Native Reserves Commissioner system in this province as he saw it: “unless the Natives consent to extinguish their original title and accept a title from the Crown, the Commissioners have no power to deal with the land.”³⁴⁷ In effect, the external boundaries of the native reserves in Otago were drawn as British settlement was established on their perimeter. At the same time, Kāi Tahu retained control of the internal boundaries of reserves primarily because they were lands excepted from purchase by Kāi Tahu leaders.

Through the Native Land Court title determination processes and native lands legislation the government established the conditions under which to undermine the control of Kāi Tahu over their reserve lands, instituting the process by which officials could breach the external boundaries of the Taieri Native Reserve. Government legislation on native reserves and the management system instituted through Commissioners of Native Reserves were paralleled by native land legislation. The Native Lands Acts were an enduring feature of assimilation policy in New Zealand, with no fewer than 69 laws relating to Māori land passed by 1909.³⁴⁸ The Native

³⁴⁴ Robert Chapman, “The South Island Maoris and their Reserved Lands, 1860-1910,” (MA, University of Canterbury, 1966), p. 64. Johnson, p. 29. In 1857 the management of native reserves in Otago was vested in John Cargill, Alfred Chetham Strode, Robert Williams and John Gillies.

³⁴⁵ Ralph Johnson, *The Trust Administration of Maori Reserves, 1840-1913*, (Wellington, Waitangi Tribunal, 1997), p. 25.

³⁴⁶ Evison, note 50, p. 220. Johnson, p. 35.

³⁴⁷ W. H. Cutten, Commissioner of Crown Lands Report on Native Reserves, in Alexander Mackay *A Compendium of Official Documents Relative to Native Affairs in the South Island Volume I*, (Wellington, Government Printer, 1872), p. 119.

³⁴⁸ T. McCarthy, *The Maori Land Court Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry*, (Wellington, Government Printer, 1980), p. 12.

Lands Act 1862 made provision for the establishment of Native Land courts in specific parts of New Zealand, which in effect would be Māori bodies supervised by a magistrate. This was followed by the Native Lands Act 1865 which established a Native Land Court under its own Chief Judge. The role of the Court was to establish the owners of customary land; to extinguish customary ownership of that land by the issue of Crown title; and to regulate succession to land held under individual title.³⁴⁹ Thus, under the 1865 Act the Native Land Court defined Māori land ownership on an individual rather than customary basis. Under the Native Lands Act 1867 the title to excepted lands could be investigated by the Native Land Court, and such lands could also come under the jurisdiction of the Court through the authority of the Governor without the consent of the owners. Thus land under customary ownership could be referred to the Native Land Court where Certificates of Title would be awarded and customary title extinguished.³⁵⁰ In essence, by redefining the term “Native Reserve” to include land under customary ownership the jurisdiction of the Native Land Court to determine title was extended to all land under Māori ownership.

With the establishment of the Native Land Court title determination processes the external boundary of the Taieri Native Reserve was breached as new internal boundaries were laid down based on individual land-holdings. A key aspect of Crown policy on native reserve legislation and administration was individualization of the land. Individualization was achieved through Court orders and the issue of Certificates of Title, which saw the proliferation of boundaries inside native reserves. These new boundaries delineated new individual rights, including the rights of disposal and alienation. Individualization was explicitly linked to ‘civilization’. Jenny Murray notes that the effort to define reserves under legislation from the 1850s was closely connected to ideas about how the land was to be improved and used.³⁵¹ Henry

³⁴⁹ David V. Williams, *‘Te Kooti Tango Whenua’: The Native Land Court, 1864-1909*, (Wellington, Huia, 1999), p. 142.

³⁵⁰ Alexander Mackay to Chief Judge, Native Land Court, 8/8/1884, MLC AccW2218 Box 17, (ANZ-W).

³⁵¹ J. E. Murray, *Crown Policy on Maori Reserved Lands, 1840 to 1865, and Lands Restricted From Alienation, 1865 to 1900*, (Wellington, Waitangi Tribunal, 1997), p. v.

Sewell, the architect of the 1856 Native Reserves Act, sought the creation of ‘civilised communities’ through individualization of title. Placement of reserve land under the management of the Native Commissioner for lease brought in funds that could be used, argued Sewell, for the ‘improvement’ of Māori.³⁵² The establishment of the Native Land Court drew on a long held and clearly articulated policy from the 1840s that individualization of Māori land assisted in the ‘improvement’ and ‘civilization’ of Māori morally and socially. Importantly, the establishment of fixed individual boundaries within native reserves was perceived as essential to the Māori achievement of ‘civilization’ and ‘improvement’.

While the internal boundaries of the Taieri Native Reserve were steadily encroached upon and redefined under the title determination processes of the Native Land Court, the external boundary of the reserve was also being defined. With British settlement of the lower Taieri, Kāi Tahu were further restricted to Maitapapa. Geographically, townships such as Taieri Ferry and Otokia were sited on the margins of the reserve and along the banks of the river. With increasing settlement came the need for land on which to access and develop material resources. Indeed, Kettle noted as early as 1846 before organized Scottish settlement of Otago began that “a considerable number of land proprietors [had] settled in the Taieri and Waiholā districts, and many of them intend to carry out grazing and agriculturalist pursuits on an extensive scale.”³⁵³ In 1850 Kettle travelled to the Maitapapa kāika seeking to persuade Taieri Kāi Tahu to sell portions of their reserve to enable the marking out of townships and encourage the closer settlement of British settlers. Kettle described them as a:

³⁵² Johnson, pp. 24-25.

³⁵³ 26/9/1846, Kettle Letterbook, MS-0083, (HL).

small party of natives [that] has for many years past has lived quite retired from the main body of their like, subsisting mostly on eels and wekas (a woodhen) which abound in the lakes and at the foot of the inland ranges, and therefore have not energy and ambition which characterises all the natives who live together in large bodies, and particularly those who come into persistent and close contact with Europeans. And not having had the same facility as the natives of Otago and Waikouaiti for supplying Dunedin with potatoes, so as to acquire the habits of traffick and by turning the proceeds of their sales into cattle, their ideas of doing anything for themselves scarcely extend beyond the cultivation of a few potatoes for their own consumption.³⁵⁴

However, “they unhesitatingly declined to sell any portion of their land, affirming that money to them was like the dew upon the grass which is soaked up by the sun as soon as he rises.”³⁵⁵ Kettle had difficulty in understanding the unwillingness on the part of Taieri Kāi Tahu to engage fully in the cash economy and to move beyond a traditional and subsistence lifestyle. His attempt to encourage them to sell their land for a town site illustrates the poor quality of the land for agricultural purposes. Indeed, Kettle described the reserve land in negative terms stating that “the greater part of their reserve, for all the use it was them at present, might as well be at the bottom of the sea.”³⁵⁶ With the sale of land, Kettle argued, Taieri Kāi Tahu could look forward to using the money to invest in stock “by which their reserve would then become really useful to them” and the advantages of having a “body of Europeans near them.”³⁵⁷ In short, the stated Crown policy of ‘civilization’ through individualization or sale of land was in operation at Taieri from the 1850s as represented by early official attempts to breach the boundary of the native reserve.

A constant theme of official visitors to the reserve was its large size for the comparatively small population. On his way to the Foveaux Strait to take a census of the European population, Mantell passed through Taieri in December 1851 and found the “bush between the hills and the river all occupied – the s.w. part by natives – about 1 mile to the kaika; three wretched huts very dirty – (reserve too large).”³⁵⁸ Not

³⁵⁴ Kettle to Cargill, 9/12/1850, MS-0083, (HL).

³⁵⁵ Ibid.

³⁵⁶ Ibid.

³⁵⁷ Ibid.

³⁵⁸ Herries Beattie, *The Pioneers Explore Otago*, (Dunedin, Otago Witness and Otago Daily Times Newspapers, 1947), p. 112.

only was the reserve perceived as overly adequate for the local population, their ability to make use of the land in an economic and productive manner was questioned. Despite the perceived comparatively large size of the Taieri Native Reserve for its population the poor quality of the land meant that Taieri Kāi Tahu livelihoods depended upon mahika kai, subsistence living, limited engagements with the cash economy through markets and barter, and employment on local settlers' farms. The comments of travellers and colonial officials point to the attempts of Taieri Kāi Tahu to engage in the cash economy while maintaining a subsistence lifestyle.

British settlement on the margins of the reserve acted to clearly demarcate the external boundary of the reserve and impacted on the economic development within its confines. Statistics gathered by colonial officials at Maitapapa indicate the nature of the Taieri economy. Walter Mantell recorded a population of twenty Kāi Tahu and three 'half-castes' in his 1853 census of Maitapapa. According to his census these 23 residents of Maitapapa resided in three 'European style' houses and two houses in 'Native style'. Furthermore, the community owned three cattle; twenty tame pigs; cultivated one acre of wheat; three acres of potato; had three canoes; one boat and one handmill.³⁵⁹ Mantell's statistics suggest that Taieri Kāi Tahu were engaging on limited terms with the cash economy. The small herd of cattle indicates that they were not an item of trade but were available for breeding purposes. Their one acre of wheat would supply them with their flour for a year, and was likely to have been ground at their handmill. Having only three acres of potatoes in cultivation suggests that the families were growing enough simply to supply themselves.

An 1861 report by Arthur Chetham Strode on the 'State of the Natives of Various Districts' recorded that the population of 30 individuals had 30 fenced acres and 29 acres in cultivation, they owned 28 horses, 97 horned cattle and 20 pigs.³⁶⁰ From these statistics it is clear that in 1861 the Kāi Tahu economy was still a subsistence one. In total, 59 acres of the 68 acre kāika were in use in 1861, leaving ten

³⁵⁹ 'Census of the Native and Half-caste population resident in the Southern portion of the Middle Island as taken by Mantell in 1852,' in *Compendium Volume I*, p. 275.

³⁶⁰ *AJHR*, E-7, 1861, pp. 37-38.

acres for the five houses recorded by Mantell in 1853 as well as the urupā. Given that only 59 acres were in use, either fenced or cultivated, suggests that the rest of the land was not capable of being used for agricultural purposes, merely for grazing stock. In 1861 the economy of Taieri Kāi Tahu at their reserve consisted of a combination of subsistence agriculture, a continued reliance on traditional sources of food such as ducks, tuna and fish, supported by an engagement with the cash economy through local markets, such as those that operated at Taieri Ferry, located directly across the river from the kāika, in the early 1860s.³⁶¹ Economically, the Taieri families were confined to the boundaries of the reserve.

Contesting Boundaries

The perceived inability of Kāi Tahu to make economic use of their reserve lands was held up as evidence that individualization of their holdings was required for their ‘improvement’. The subdivision of the Kaiapoi Native Reserve in 1859, prior to the establishment of the Native Land Court, was judged to have successfully heralded a transition of its residents to small farmers to ‘civilized’ status, and thus provided further evidence of the benefits of individualization.³⁶² By 1863, in a report on the condition of the Kāi Tahu population, James Mackay junior concluded that ‘the natives have been confined to their reserves’. Mackay believed that Kāi Tahu suffered from being hemmed in by settlers and thus were unable to breed or run pigs for income and food as their cultivations were being trespassed upon. Mackay argued that the solution to such encounters was to ‘civilize’ through individualization of reserves. He stated “the sub-division and apportionment of these reserves among the occupants would be one of the best measures which could be adopted for promoting the welfare of the Native inhabitants of the Middle Island, and would assist more than any other in placing them on the same footing as the Europeans.”³⁶³ Thus, surveying came to

³⁶¹ Win Parkes and Kath Hislop, *Taieri Mouth and Its Surrounding Districts*, (Dunedin, John McIndoe, 1980), p. 19.

³⁶² Murray, p. 15.

³⁶³ James Mackay junior to Native Secretary, 3/10/1863, in Mackay, *Compendium, Volume II*, pp. 138-139.

occupy a central position in the delineation of boundaries, particularly in the Native Land Court where it enabled the division of land into blocks and then sections for individual occupation and cultivation.

The first sittings of the Native Land Court in Kāi Tahu territory took place during 1868, the first at Christchurch and the second at Dunedin. According to Crown historian Anthony Walzl, one of the chief aims of the 1868 land court hearings was to ready the reserve lands for individualization by determining the ownership of such lands so that Crown grants could be issued.³⁶⁴ Through this process, individual Kāi Tahu could obtain title, then apply for partition of blocks and the subdivision of these blocks into sections. Thus, Kāi Tahu were brought within the Native Land Court process through these hearings. The sitting of the Native Land Court in Christchurch and Dunedin during April and May 1868 grew out of a promise from Governor George Grey on a visit to the South Island in 1867 “that their claims to reserves in the south should be investigated and Crown titles issued,” and an already recognized desire for subdivision by officials.³⁶⁵ Thus the presence of the Native Land Court in the South Island presided over by Chief Judge Francis Dart Fenton derived, to some extent, out of Kāi Tahu desire for land claims to be heard. It was through these hearings that rights to the Taieri Native Reserve were claimed and contested.

Claims to the Taieri Native Reserve were heard by the Land Court in Dunedin alongside sixteen other claims including Waikouaiti, Purakanui, Otākou, Te Karoro, the Princes Street Reserve and reserves set aside under the 1853 Murihiku Purchase. In the case of Taieri, the applicant to the Court was Rawiri Te Uraura, the successor to Te Raki as chief at Taieri. The major aim of the applicant was to bring in the Native Land Court to adjudicate on who had a right to the Taieri Native Reserve. However, by resorting to the Land Court to resolve internal conflicts, Rawiri Te Uraura and those he represented also brought the Taieri Native Reserve under the authority of the

³⁶⁴ Evidence of Anthony Walzl, *Ngai Tahu Reserves, 1848-1890*, Crown Papers (M14), p. 70. Also see *AJHR*, A-7, 1868.

³⁶⁵ Mackay, *Compendium Volume 1*, p. 23.

Court with its own imperatives of extinguishing native title and individualizing reserve land through the granting of Certificates of Title.

The respective rights of whānau to an interest in the reserve land at Taieri were of particular concern in the years prior to the 1868 Native Land Court hearings. Letters to the Native Minister from Taieri Kāi Tahu prior to the division of the reserve in the late 1860s, indicate that the question of boundaries and who could cross them was of considerable importance. Native Department letterbooks record a series of letters from Kāi Tahu with an interest in the Taieri Reserve from 1865 onwards, the first from Korako Karetai “respecting Taiairi.”³⁶⁶ In many cases it was the diverse origins of the people resident at the reserve, many of whom with hapū links to Tuahiwi, and their rights to an interest in the land which was challenged. In 1867 Korako wrote on the question of the Taieri Native Reserve indicating that his whānau wanted “a portion of it back for themselves, excluding some Kaiapoi natives at present living at Taiairi.”³⁶⁷ Many of the writers of these letters were looking for clarification on the issue of access and rights in the context of limited land availability as demonstrated by the statistics of Strode. Tiaki Kona/John Connor wrote in 1867 to inform authorities of the ‘ancestry of present occupiers of their Reserve’, as did John Topi Patuki, Rawiri Te Uraura and Wi Naihira in the same year.³⁶⁸ These last four letters arrived at the Native Department over a matter of four months and represent competing claims over rights to land at the Taieri Native Reserve based on whakapapa, occupation and use. Thus, the origin of the court application by Te Uraura was to clarify ownership of the reserve.

The evidence presented before the Land Court in 1868 by the rival claimants demonstrates an irony in the history of the Taieri Native Reserve. Taieri occupies a marginal position in Kāi Tahu history, but has the distinction of being keenly fought

³⁶⁶ K. T. Karetai, 26/6/1865, MA 2/41 in Jenny Murray, *Archival Material in the Registers of the Native Affairs Department and the Canterbury Provincial Council*, p. 32, (CM).

³⁶⁷ Korako, 16/2/1867, MA 2/41 in Murray, p. 37, (CM).

³⁶⁸ Jack Kona, 28/5/1867, MA 2/41 in Murray, p. 38; 1867/378, John Topi Patuki, 29/7/1867, MA 2/41 in Murray, p. 40; 1867/404, R. te Uraura, 17/8/1867, MA 2/41 in Murray, p. 40; 1867/436, Wi Naihira, 29/8/1867, MA 2/41 in Murray, p. 40 (CM).

over at the time of the division of the reserve by a range of representatives of many of the leading families of Kāi Tahu. The reserve land was claimed by Topi Patuki the successor to Tuhawaiki the paramount chief of Kāi Tahu; Frederick or Alfred Kihau, the grandson of Tuhawaiki; Hori Kerei Taiaroa, the Otākou chief and later MHR for Southern Maori; Korako Karetai the son of Otākou chief Karetai and husband of Te Raki's daughter Katarina Pi; Pita te Hori, upoko/head of Tuahiwi; Kāi Tahu tohuka Nātanahira Waruwarutū; Wi Naihira, who was to succeed his brother Tare Teihoka as upoko of Tuahiwi; and Potiki of the Clutha district.³⁶⁹

The Court sat on 20 May 1868 to decide the ownership of the Taieri Native Reserve. Conflict over the land had arisen after the death of Te Raki in 1862 and his bequeathing of the land to his successor Rawiri Te Uraura, the claimant before the Native Land Court. The counter-claimants were described as 'the Natives residing at Otago Heads.'³⁷⁰ An arrangement to share the reserve devised by the counter-claimants had been suggested independently of the Court. At this meeting "All the people of the Taieri and Otakou were present, and with the exception of the half-castes at the Taieri, all agreed to the arrangement. The arrangement had been proposed by the Otakou Natives, who said that if the Taieri Natives refused, they would not have any land at all."³⁷¹ However, Rawiri Te Uraura stated:

The way the Natives at the Taieri were pressed into making the arrangement was that the Otakou Natives represented the land as Taiaroa's, and that Raki, through whom we claimed, had no title. In former times it was considered that Taiaroa and Karetai owned the land. I and Raki have lived on the ground since we were children.³⁷²

Maitapapa was established in the 1830s by 'refugees' from two wars, one internal to Kāi Tahu and the other external. This is reflected in the predominance of Ngāti Tuahuriri, more commonly associated with Kaiapoi (see Table Three, Chapter Two),

³⁶⁹ On the status of, and links between, Topi Patuki, Taiaroa and Karetai see Atholl Anderson, *The Welcome of Strangers*, (Dunedin, University of Otago Press, 1998), pp. 98-100.

³⁷⁰ *Compendium Volume II*, p. 233.

³⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 234.

³⁷² *Ibid.*

in Walter Mantell's 1853 census of Maitapapa, evidence that these people were refugees from Te Rauparaha's raid on that pā in 1831. Wereta Tuarea, resident at Taieri for 37 years "ever since I came from Kaiapoi", objected to the arrangement suggested by the people of Otākou, claiming that: "They have no title."³⁷³ Understandably, those who lived on and cultivated the reserve felt that through evidence of continued occupation or ahi kā since the 1830s that they had a clear right to recognition of their claim in the Taieri Native Reserve.

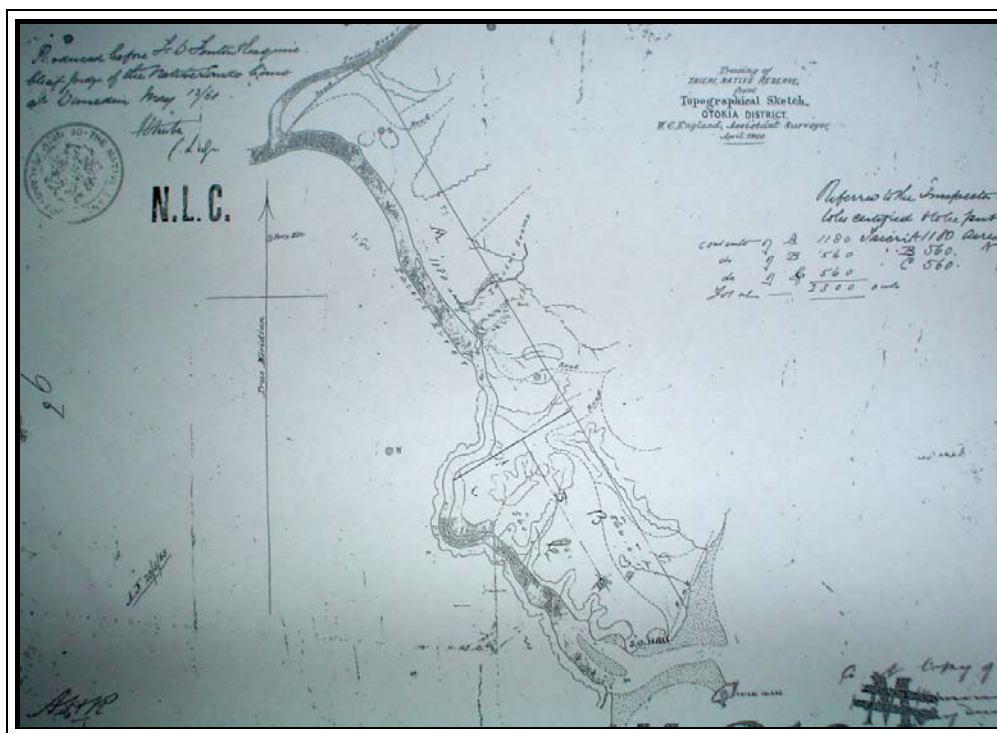
An agreement to share the reserve was made independently of the Land Court and was approved by Chief Judge Fenton. Under the agreement, "the claimants and counter claimants had agreed that the Taieri Natives should have half of the reserve; the Otakou Natives a quarter; and Te One Topi's descendants the remaining quarter."³⁷⁴ The Native Land Court divided the reserve into Blocks A, B, and C, along with a small kāika. These block divisions reflected the contested claims made to the reserve by the resident families who were allocated Block A, those from Otākou who were allocated Block B and claims from Murihiku settled by Block C. The court decision in 1868 was described by Tiaki Kona/John Connor, a leading member of the Taieri kāika, in a letter to the Native Minister, as the year in which "half of the reserve was taken away by other natives of other parts."³⁷⁵ The area of the reserve that was available to Taieri Kāi Tahu was not 2310 acres but the small kāika and the inaccessible land of Block A. In later Native Land Court hearings, letters to the Native Department, in evidence presented before the Smith-Nairn Commission of 1879-1880, and the 1891 Middle Island Commission, land rights in the reserve and boundaries were further contested.³⁷⁶

³⁷³ Ibid.

³⁷⁴ Ibid.

³⁷⁵ John Connor to Native Minister, 11/2/1886, MA 13, Box 21, 13[c], (ANZ-W).

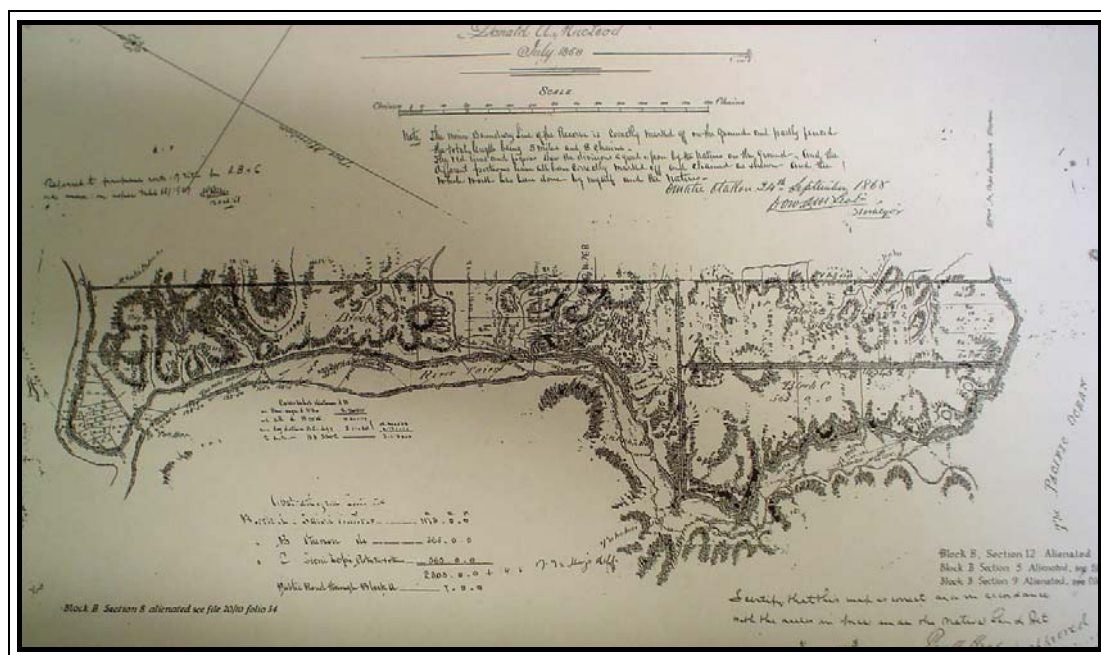
³⁷⁶ See SIMB 5, 2/3/1887, p. 142 and No. 17, 15/2/1906, pp. 113-128. Evidence, Otakou Heads, 5/3/1891, p. 27, Box 3, Folder 16, W. A. Taylor Papers (CM). 86/1605, "Taieri Reserve: Boundary line," MA 3/17, (ANZ-W). 88/124, "T.N.R., boundary," MA 3/18, (ANZ-W).



Source: Land Information New Zealand.

³⁷⁸ Byrnes, 2001, p. 104. S. 25 Native Lands Court Act 1865, *New Zealand Statutes, 1864-65*, p. 267.

recorded few traditional places. There is only one place name on the map – Takitui swamp, while the Taieri River is also named. It does, however, include topographical features such as bush, the river which acts as a reserve boundary, as well as the coastline and beach. In addition, roads for access and the proposed division of the reserve, with their labels, are featured on the map. There is little indication of the terrain of the reserve, such as its steep nature, or the small area of flat land available for occupation and cultivation. MacLeod's 1868 map included a greater range of traditional place names, and the topographical features were presented in more detail. The new boundaries were marked, and within these new divisions sections were laid off.



Map 4: MacLeod's Survey Map of the Taieri Native Reserve, 1868 (ML 211).

Source: Land Information New Zealand

In accordance with the Court's judgement, Certificates of Title were issued to the three claimant groups. An area of 1173 acres, designated as Block A, was awarded to eight trustees who were listed on the Crown Grant dated 31 March 1870 as Rawiri Te Uraura, Werita Tuarea, Matene Korako, Hopa Te Hikutu, Wiremu Naihira, John

Connor and Robert Brown.³⁷⁹ Block B of the Taieri Native Reserve consisting of 565 acres was granted to representatives of Otākou Kāi Tahu: Hori Kerei Taiaroa; Hoani Wetere Korako; Korako Karetai; Timoti Karetai; Riwai Karetai; Ripeka Karetai; John Robinson; Matthew Te Hu, Caroline Robinson and Fanny Weller.³⁸⁰ Block C of the Taieri Native Reserve was awarded to nine individuals: Perereka Kihau, Rena Kihau, Kate Topi, Waata Topi, Sarah Palmer, Robert Brown, Henry West, John Kelly and Jane Brown.³⁸¹

After its establishment, the Native Land Court came to play a central role in Māori political, social and cultural life. According to Sorrenson, the land purchasing methods instituted alongside the Native Land Court title determination processes had disastrous economic and social consequences for Māori. The contestation over boundaries and other land disputes that played out in Court sittings, which drew the population of a number of communities into the towns to follow progress of their case, witnessed not only the alienation of land but also the loss of population.³⁸² Māori ‘could not escape the court’ as refusing to engage with the process meant the forfeit of land rights since the Court proceeded to determine title on the basis of the evidence before it. In addition, attendance at the Land Court and the presentation of evidence secured a Certificate of Title and thus individual ownership and the right to lease, mortgage or sell land.³⁸³ Likewise, Ballara notes that the land sales which followed the waiver of the Crown right of pre-emption in 1862 and determined by the Native Land Court process was “an on-going cause of resettlement,” that witnessed the loss of hāpu groups or the constitution of new hapū identities.³⁸⁴ Land alienation was the inevitable outcome of Native Land Court proceedings.

³⁷⁹ Deeds Register Book, Vol. 78, p. 73, (LINZ-D).

³⁸⁰ Deeds Register Book, Vol. 88, p. 432, (LINZ-D).

³⁸¹ Deeds Register Book, Vol. 74, p. 696, (LINZ-D).

³⁸² M. P. K. Sorrenson, “Land Purchase Methods and their Effect on Maori Population, 1865-1901,” *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 65, 2, 1956, pp. 191-192.

³⁸³ Ann Parsonson, “Stories for land: oral narratives in the Maori Land Court,” in Bain Attwood and Fiona Magowan (eds.) *Telling Stories: Indigenous history and memory in Australia and New Zealand*, (Wellington, Bridget Williams Books, 2001), p. 40.

³⁸⁴ Angela Ballara, *Iwi: The dynamics of Maori tribal organization from c. 1769 to c. 1945*, (Wellington, Victoria University Press, 1998), p. 252.

Contests over internal boundaries of the Taieri Reserve continued after the Native Land Court sitting, as the surveyor embarked on the practical division of the reserve on the ground. Taieri Kāi Tahu had a measure of control over the activities of the surveyor, and were keenly interested in monitoring such work, often walking the ground with him. This was the case in the surveying of the individual sections in the reserve completed in July 1868 by David MacLeod, when:

almost all the Natives in connection with the Reserve attended the survey – indeed, everyone belonging to Blocks A and B – And it was unanimously agreed amongst them to mark a division of the land and get it marked off at once. I accordingly got them all out on the ground and made them put in all their pegs and cut their lines as shown on the maps.³⁸⁵

In his note on the map MacLeod stated that: “The red lines and figures show the divisions agreed upon by the Natives on the Ground. And all the different portions have been marked off and chained as shown. And the whole work has been done by myself and the Natives.”³⁸⁶ Thus, MacLeod’s note confirms that the work of the surveyor in ‘native settlements’ was carried out with the active cooperation of select local residents.

As already noted, invested in the concept of individualization of title was the British belief in Māori moral and social improvement and ‘civilization’ grounded in turning reserve land into ‘useful’ farms. The Kāi Tahu families did attempt to make a living from their land, but it was a lifestyle that was subsistent in character, conforming to what W. H. Cutten saw as land “more or less used by the Natives for occupation, residence, and cultivation.”³⁸⁷ By 1868, little had changed economically since 1861. Taieri Kāi Tahu were described in that year as living in “eight or ten dilapidated huts” with only a few acres under cultivation as the remainder of the reserve consisted “of steep hillsides, and broken ground, only adapted for grazing.”³⁸⁸

³⁸⁵ David MacLeod to Chief Judge, Native Land Court, 26/9/1868, Box 263 Taieri Block, (MLC).

³⁸⁶ Taieri Native Reserve in the Province of Otago N.Z. surveyed by Donald A. MacLeod, July 1868, ML 211, (LINZ-D).

³⁸⁷ W. H. Cutten, Report upon Native Reserves, *Compendium, Volume I*, p. 118

³⁸⁸ Copy of Report, Alexander Mackay to Native Minister, 7/2/1868, *Compendium, Volume II*, p. 148.

The situation of Taieri whānau in 1868 exemplifies that of Kāi Tahu generally in the 1860s, attempting to negotiate two different economies, living off poor quality reserve land, while maintaining access to mahika kai sites. In the *Ngai Tahu Report* the Waitangi Tribunal found that the reserves set aside were insufficient and totally inadequate for the present and future needs of Kāi Tahu. The Tribunal report reflected evidence placed before them from Kāi Tahu kaumātua and rūnaka, illustrating that many Kāi Tahu communities were in the same situation as the families at Taieri, having been left with “sufficient land only for bare subsistence with no opportunity to turn, as European settlers soon did, to pastoral farming on a relatively large scale.”³⁸⁹

Crossing Boundaries

Frederick Tuckett, when defining the boundaries of the Otago Block in 1844, wished it to be stated in the deed of purchase “that other Maoris cannot, and after the land is paid for, reside within the district, excepting on such land as may be specially reserved for the present residents or others.”³⁹⁰ As well as the three areas of land excluded from purchase Kāi Tahu believed that ‘tenths’ reserves were to be made within the boundaries of the Otago Purchase. Tenths was a New Zealand Company policy which involved a tenth of the available sections selected alongside those of settlers, both rural and urban, for Māori occupation. Tenths constituted one way of promoting the amalgamation of the ‘races.’ According to Keith Sorrenson, the tenths system of the New Zealand Company “would promote social alliances with settlers and amalgamation through living in close proximity.”³⁹¹

That the New Zealand Company policy of tenths was contemplated in the Otago Purchase in 1844 complicates a view that there was to be a clear distinction between Kāi Tahu and settler sites of occupancy. In reports by Wakefield and Symonds in 1844, both expected tenths reserves to be made post-purchase by

³⁸⁹ *Ngai Tahu Report*, p. 340.

³⁹⁰ Tuckett to D. Wakefield, 13/6/1844, in *Compendium, Volume II*, p. 102; *Ngai Tahu Report*, p. 303.

³⁹¹ M. P. K. Sorrenson, “How to Civilize Savages: Some ‘Answers’ from Nineteenth-Century New Zealand,” *New Zealand Journal of History*, 9, 2, 1975, p. 104.

Governor Robert FitzRoy. Their reports indicate that the discussion of tenths reserves did take place with Kāi Tahu, that these reserves were to be situated within the boundary of the purchase block and that Kāi Tahu preferred to retain control over these lands.³⁹² However, tenths were not considered by the Otago Association in 1848 when the formal colonization of the Otago block, which centred on Dunedin, took place. In 1845 William Cargill, the leader of the New Edinburgh Association, wrote to the secretary of the New Zealand Company explaining that the small number of Kāi Tahu resident in the block meant that the application of tenths policy in Otago would constitute the establishment of uninhabited waste land which would hinder the progress of British colonization.³⁹³ While tenths reserves within the Otago settlement were definitely contemplated in 1844, they were not provided for in the Crown Grant of 1846, despite instructions from Lord Stanley that land not already reserved by Symonds for Kāi Tahu “out of the tract included in the deed of sale” be included in the grant.³⁹⁴ Thus by 1848 Kāi Tahu were not provided with tenths and instead retained control over only the exempted lands. Alan Ward and Ann Parsonson both indicate that these exempted lands acted to demark clear boundaries between settler and Kāi Tahu sites of occupation.³⁹⁵ In short, a central part of the reserve policy as it was finally implemented at Otago was a clear distinction between Māori sites of occupancy and those of British settlers; these boundaries were not to be crossed.³⁹⁶ By 1848, settlers preferred to have the comfort of physical and social distance. But with intermarriage this neat division of physical boundaries was disrupted and transgressed.

Chapter Two illustrated that a mixed descent population had developed at Maitapapa from the 1840s. However, this population was not always visible in the statistics. By 1868 a clear distinction was made between the mixed descent population and the Kāi Tahu community. In that year Mackay found 58 Kāi Tahu residing at

³⁹² *Ngai Tahu Report*, pp. 311-312.

³⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 330.

³⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 328-329.

³⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 303. Parsonson, 1987, (Wai-27), p. 56.

³⁹⁶ *Ngai Tahu Report*, p. 303

Taieri.³⁹⁷ Mackay also noted eighteen ‘half-caste children living with their parents at a distance from the pah’.³⁹⁸ The designation of ‘half-caste’ children as ethnically and geographically separate from settler and Kāi Tahu expresses the development of not only a mixed descent population at Maitapapa but a population that did not fit into either settler or Kāi Tahu spaces.

Evidence presented before the Native Land Court indicates that there were more than three groups claiming an interest in the Taieri Native Reserve in 1868. While the reserve was divided into three interests representing those families resident at Taieri, those of Otākou and those of Murihiku, the Taieri residents were in fact not a clearly defined group. The Taieri families were composed of ‘refugees’ and ‘half-castes.’ The opposition to the solution reached at the Land Court sitting suggests that the ‘refugee’ status of some of the Taieri claimants alongside the mixed descent status of a second group of claimants operated against both groups in claims of ownership to the reserve. Inter-marriage brought the fear of land loss as it brought newcomers onto reserve land, the development of a mixed descent population and the creation of ‘half-caste’ lands, and competition for land in already small reserves. This fear grew out of an 1856 decision of the Commissioner of Crown Lands that the provision of land for ‘half-castes’ be made out of native reserves. However, this was “to be done subject to the consent of the Natives concerned.”³⁹⁹ Atholl Anderson has identified land scarcity as a key issue surrounding the development of the mixed descent population in the South Island from the 1870s in the form of ‘half-caste’ land claims.⁴⁰⁰ There was a general belief, voiced by Taiaroa in Parliament during the 1870s, that ‘half-castes’ were the economic responsibility of their white fathers. In 1870 Walter Mantell, the former Commissioner for the Extinguishment of Native Title in the Middle Island

³⁹⁷ Alexander, Mackay, *Census of the Native Population in Middle Island and Stewart Island, 1868 Compendium, Volume II*, p. 344. *Statistics of New Zealand for 1867 including the results of a Census of the Colony taken in December of that year*, (Wellington, Government Printer, 1869), Appendix C, Part 1.

³⁹⁸ *Census of Native Population of the Provinces of Canterbury, Otago and Southland 1868*, p. 91, MA-MT 6/19, (ANZ-W).

³⁹⁹ Colonial Secretary to Superintendent of Otago, 18/3/1856, MA 13 Box 20 12[e] Part 5, (ANZ-W).

⁴⁰⁰ Atholl Anderson, *Race against time*, (Dunedin, Hocken Library, 1991), p. 28.

stated that land was not set aside for 'half-caste' children as it was believed by officials that their claims to land were the responsibility of their white fathers.⁴⁰¹ However, as the disputes over rights to the Taieri Native Reserve indicate, the question of responsibility for 'half-caste' children and their rights to land had been raised since the 1860s.

It was the 'half-castes' living at the lower Taieri who questioned the awards of land and acreage by the leading persons of the kāika. In a letter to the Native Minister dated June 1868, three months before McLeod sent his plan of the reserve to the Native Land Court, Harriet, Charles, Charlotte and Jane Palmer indicated their distress over the division of land at Taieri:

This is our talk to you about the portion of land of the Taieri People which is left. The Surveyors work is greatly interrupted. The good lands are being taken away by Rawiri o hapu Te Uraura for themselves alone. The bad pieces are being offered to us by some of those people who are living on their land – but the whole of the land has been subdivided by the Surveyor and the Runanga have agreed about the other portions. The portion that is disputed is 130 acres. . . . Hariata wants to be at the gate of the fence that she may get some portion of the good land to build a house upon that Nane Sherburd should have 12 chains of the good land and herself three chains. This is a good arrangement but the decision is with you. Write quickly that this dispute may cease.⁴⁰²

This letter included a sketch map marking the disputed boundaries, indicating that resident Taieri families were very aware of the internal boundaries of the reserve. This is despite the fact that it is evident from the communications of MacLeod that a number of Taieri Kāi Tahu were working with the surveyor to set these boundaries, most notably Rawiri Te Uraura and Wereta Tuarea who were the subject of the preceding letter. This contest over boundaries reflects the role of the survey as a site of resistance, often centred on the setting of the boundaries of the reserve. Most importantly, the question of land division at the reserve involved the collusion of some residents with the surveyor while others, in this case families of mixed descent,

⁴⁰¹ *AJHR*, D-20, 1870.

⁴⁰² Hariata Paama, Charlotte Palmer, Jane Paama and Tare Paama to Fenton, 30/6/1868, MLC AccW2218 Box 17, (ANZ-W).

were not part of the process of allocation. A month later, Nane's letter to the Native Minister "about my piece of land at Taieri the size of the land is 100 acres for myself, my child and husband"⁴⁰³ indicates that the reserve land was being inhabited by Pākehā, including her husband Robert Sherburd.

In September 1868 surveyor David MacLeod drew up an owners' list of the Taieri Native Reserve, which was approved by the Native Land Court. From this list, the question of settler occupation of the reserve as well as patterns of intermarriage can be explored. Kāi Tahu of mixed descent (denoted in bold) in Table Four include Robert and Jane Brown, their daughter Eliza who by 1868 was married to William Neil, and Robert's sister Sally or Sarah Brown, married to the former whaler Ned Palmer. Betty, Mary and Hannah Kuo (more commonly Kui) were the 'half-caste' daughters of the former whaler William Palmer and by 1868 all three were married to Pākehā men – Betty to James Crane; Mary to William Bryant; and Hannah to Peter Campbell junior. Thomas Pratt was Tame Parata who became MHR for Southern Māori, while Tiaki Kona/Jack Conner never married. Hannah Parera was Ann Holmes, the third wife of ex-whaler William Palmer, while Nane or Ann Foster was married to Robert Sherburd. Therefore, in 1868 there were potentially six Pākehā men with access to reserved land through the rights of their Kāi Tahu wives, either living on the reserve or nearby. In short, the creation of 'half-caste lands' out of reserve land was a reality.

⁴⁰³ Nane to Fenton, 1/7/1868, MLC AccW2218 Box 17, (ANZ-W).

Table 4: Taieri Native Reserve Owners' List, and those of mixed descent (bold), September 1868

Owner	Section	A-R-P
Teoti te Kuri	A1	6-2-0
Rawiri Uraura and Te Makai	A2	13-0-0
Matene Korako	A3	6-2-0
Emma Potahi	A4	6-2-0
Tio Tio/Toitu	A5	6-2-0
Sally Palmer	A6	6-2-0
Robert Brown	A7	6-2-0
Not settled	A8	6-2-0
Wereta Tuarea and Hoani Hape	A9	6-2-0
Burial Ground		0-1-0
Robert Brown, Eliza Brown and Sally Palmer	A10	90-0-0
Not settled: Harriet Palmer (Mrs Overton) and Mrs Sherburd (Ani Foster)	A11	130-0-0
Teoti te Kuri	A12	80-0-0
Hopa Ru	A13	30-0-0
Makoti (Jack Darkie)	A14	14-0-0
Wi Naihira, Pita te Hori and Natanahira Waruwarutu	A15	100-0-0
Makarita and Tiaki Parete	A16	100-0-0
Betty Kuo, Hannah Kuo and Mary Kuo	A17	60-0-0
Matene Korako and his children	A18	80-0-0
Thomas Pratt	A19	50-0-0
Tiaki Connor/Kona	A20	50-0-0
Tira	A21	30-0-0
Wereta Tuarea and Hoani Hape	A22	100-0-0
Rawiri te Uraura	A23	60-0-0
Heni/Hannah Parera (Mrs. W. Palmer)	A24	35-0-0
Tiaki Connor	A25	96-0-0
Wi Potiki and Riria Potiki	B1	55-0-0
Korako Karetai and Haromi te Au	B2	35-0-0
Matiu te Hu and Koriana Russell	B3	55-0-0
Maraia Moemoe	B4	20-0-0
Timoti Karetai	B5	50-0-0
Ripeka and Irihapeti	B6	35-0-0
Te Hopu	B7	30-0-0
Hinepakia Hopu	B8	20-0-0
Tare Wetere Te Kaho and Pirohira	B9	45-0-0
Pirimona (George Freeman)	B10	10-0-0
Te Maihera	B11	10-0-0
Patoromu Pu	B12	20-0-0
Honai Korako	B13	15-0-0
Nani Wera	B14	40-0-0
Tiaki Ropatini	B15	35-0-0
Hori Kerei Taiaroa	B16	45-0-0
Timoti Ropatini	B17	25-0-0
Riki Pana	B18	20-0-0
Robert Brown and Sally Palmer	Block C	165-0-0
Alfred Kihau		100-0-0
Ellen Kihau		100-0-0
Kate Topi		100-0-0
Jenny Brown		30-0-0
Mary Anglem		36-0-0
Harry Were		34-0-0

Source: Taieri Block File 263, (MLC) and MA-MT 6/19, (ANZ-W).

The Taieri Native Reserve was one of the few pieces of land set aside under the Otago purchase that included a relatively large proportion of ‘half-castes’ within its list of owners. At Waikouaiti, only the Apes, Ellison and Parata families were listed as owners of the four blocks of this reserve in 1868, alongside Fanny Weller, Barnabas Lovett and John Miller.⁴⁰⁴ At Otākou Heads eleven persons of mixed descent were listed as owners in this reserve, including the names Burns, Freeman, Robertson and Ellison.⁴⁰⁵ These people were all identified as ‘half-castes’ through their dual names and through designation by the term ‘h.c.’ At Taieri, those of mixed descent were certainly in the minority in the MacLeod’s list, gaining little land in the village sections of A1 to A9. Access to land was granted in Block A of the reserve to eleven Taieri Kāi Tahu of mixed descent. However, this land was notoriously inaccessible and unavailable for economic use.

The presence of persons of mixed descent disrupted customary systems of land rights. The reduction of already limited land by the inclusion of those of mixed descent was one of the reasons why the question of reserve allocations to mixed descent was an important issue. According to Mackay’s list of claimants, there were 33 individuals with an interest in Block A of the reserve, giving each an area of around 35.5 acres. Bill Dacker has estimated that in 1868, when the Kāi Tahu population of Taieri consisted of 58 individuals, each was allocated on average, 39 and ¼ acres.⁴⁰⁶ However, in the year of the Land Court sitting Mackay found 76 Kāi Tahu living at the lower Taieri. This is an addition of eighteen ‘half-castes’ to the census enumeration of 58, reducing interests in Block A to approximately fifteen acres each. Therefore, the inclusion of ‘half-castes’ in the awards reduced the land available to those not of mixed ancestry, thus explaining the contest over rights to reserve land.

⁴⁰⁴ SIMB 1a, 23/5/1868, pp. 47-49.

⁴⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 53-55

⁴⁰⁶ Bill Dacker, “Chapters in Nineteenth-Century South Island Maori History” (BA Hons Long essay, University of Otago, 1980), p. 17.

While fifteen acres may seem like a substantial amount of land, the character and terrain of Block A needs to be taken into account. In Alexander Mackay's 1891 report on native reserves in the South Island 50 parcels of reserved land were listed by size and class. Taieri was the fourth largest in acreage behind Otākou Heads, Kaiapoi and Waikouaiti. Of these 50 reserves Mackay listed twenty as inferior land and of the four largest, three were classified as good land and only Taieri was classified as inferior.⁴⁰⁷ Much of the Taieri Native Reserve, including a substantial proportion of Block A, was made up of terrain that was inaccessible, steep and uneconomic. The only piece of flat land available to resident families was the 68 acre kāika. Taking this into account, the land grants are reduced to approximately two acres each for 33 persons. The problems associated with living on reserve land that was inadequate for their future maintenance, well-being and economic development was part of the wider Kāi Tahu narrative about inadequate reserves. At Taieri, the impact of intermarriage and the question of provision for a growing mixed descent population generated conflict at Taieri which was to continue into the 1870s.

Conclusion

Kāti Māmoe and Kāi Tahu occupancy of the Taieri was traditionally spread throughout the plain but by the 1840s and increasingly in the 1850s, Kāi Tahu settlement of Taieri was concentrated in the southern plain and at Maitapapa in particular.⁴⁰⁸ This process of increasing confinement was predicated upon a range of cultural encounters beginning with whaling stations and followed by the systematic pastoral settlement of the plain. The laying down of distinct boundaries to Kāi Tahu occupation of the Taieri Native Reserve however, was based on the work of surveyors and throughout the period 1844 to 1868 the boundaries of the reserve were continually contested. Initially it was with the surveyor and the Native Land Court that Kāi Tahu negotiated and contested physical boundary lines. This rewriting of the land through

⁴⁰⁷ *AJHR*, G-7A, 1891, p. 11.

⁴⁰⁸ Davis, p. 190.

the process of naming and mapping was disruptive for Kāi Tahu, as is evident in the way they invoked surveyors, Native Land Court judges and Native Department officials in order to remedy internal disputes between themselves and their mixed descent relatives over land rights. A close reading of the boundaries drawn at Taieri reveals that transgressions were not limited to Kāi Tahu, but extended to include former whalers residing on and cultivating reserve land with their Kāi Tahu spouses. Such transgressions disrupted the notion of reserved land as spatially separate from sites of British occupation, while the presence of persons of mixed descent at Taieri undermined the pretence of separate living spaces in this district. In short, the environment that Kāi Tahu and the first British settlers occupied was mapped and surveyed and thus, had specific geographical, political, economic and cultural boundaries. However, these boundaries were contested and continually negotiated through economic need, and as we shall see in Chapter Four, transgressed through intermarriage.

4

ASSIMILATIONS, 1850-1889

Introduction

The purchase of the Otago Block by the New Zealand Company in 1844 paved the way for large-scale systematic British settlement of Otago. On the Taieri Plains specifically, British settlement brought a second phase of intermarriage, characterized by single white men being assimilated into the Kāi Tahu and mixed descent population at Maitapapa through marriage and kinship ties. The establishment of the mixed descent community at Maitapapa was contingent upon the possibilities of lower Taieri - the river, the lakes and the land - which drew single white men to this district from the 1830s. Marrying 'in' to mixed descent women allowed these men to develop kinship networks and form social connections integral to the establishment of their long-term residence in the area. The first two sections of this chapter examine the intermarriage patterns of the second generation of mixed descent women and men of Maitapapa over a period of 40 years during the development of the colonial economy at lower Taieri. It investigates the types of assimilation experienced by Pākehā and those of mixed descent that arose as the result of intermarriage at a time when the 'reserve' was being surveyed and mapped by colonial officials.

The outcome of a sustained pattern of intermarriage throughout the period 1850 to 1889 was the establishment of a population at Maitapapa that was largely of mixed descent by 1889. Thus, the last section of this chapter examines the impact of a growing mixed descent population on Kāi Tahu systems of land ownership. It investigates to what extent this growing population was accommodated in Kāi Tahu understandings of identity, centred on whakapapa and land. The growth of the mixed

descent population through sustained intermarriage amongst Kāi Tahu more generally saw some Kāi Tahu argue for their different treatment. The chapter investigates the state response in the form of ‘half-caste’ land grants of the mid to late nineteenth century. Alongside land, education was also identified as a site of state intervention. For ‘half-castes’, who existed in-between ‘Native’ and ‘civilized’, education was the means by which the ‘half-caste’ could be assimilated into Pākehā society.

Intermarriage at Maitapapa

In New Zealand, marriage between Māori and Pākehā was never legally prohibited. In *The Story of New Zealand* by surgeon A. T. Thomson published in 1859, intermarriage was represented as a ‘union of the races.’ This union, argued Thomson, should be promoted in New Zealand law with regard to inheritance because as the “law now stands, concubinage is indirectly encouraged, and legal unions between European males and native females are discouraged.”⁴⁰⁹ Arthur Thomson’s wish for the promotion of amalgamation of the ‘races’ through legal marriages under New Zealand law was shortly to be realized in the form of the Half-Caste Disability Removal Act 1860. This Act applied to “Half-Castes and all persons of mixed blood of the European and Aboriginal races.”⁴¹⁰ The object of the 1860 Act was twofold. First, the Act “legitimate[d] in certain cases the Issue of Mixed Blood born before Marriage of Parents of the European and Maori Race respectively subsequently married.”⁴¹¹ Second, it was designed to enable these now legitimate children of mixed descent to legally inherit land and property rights.⁴¹²

The Half-Caste Disability Removal Act 1860 signified the importance of legal marriage to the amalgamation policy of the New Zealand colonial government. Colonial marriage legislation did not recognize marriage undertaken within the framework of Māori custom. Instead, successive laws from 1847 encouraged, rather

⁴⁰⁹ Arthur S. Thomson, *The Story of New Zealand Past and Present – Savage and Civilised, Volume II*, (London, John Murray, 1859), pp. 305-306.

⁴¹⁰ Half-Caste Disability Removal Act 1860, *New Zealand Statutes 1854-1860*, p. 489.

⁴¹¹ Ibid.

⁴¹² *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates (NZPD)*, 1860, p. 640.

than required, Māori to conform to western and legal marriage with its formal ceremony, conducted by a minister, and recorded on a marriage certificate.⁴¹³ However, Māori were treated distinctively in law and it was not until 1911 that the registration of Māori marriages was made compulsory and not until 1952 that a single system of marriage registration for Māori and Pākehā was established. The ‘in-between’ space occupied by ‘half-castes’ is exemplified by their eligibility to use the Māori registration system or register under the general system, before a single, amalgamated register was established.⁴¹⁴ The experience of intermarriage at Maitapapa between 1850 and 1889 followed the preceding policy and framed the colonial experience for the mixed descent families of this settlement.

Organized British settlement was paralleled by a new phase of intermarriage, where single white men were assimilated into the local Kāi Tahu population through marriage and kinship ties. The marriage patterns that developed at Maitapapa from 1850 continued to be contingent upon the environmental possibilities, or ‘resource zones’,⁴¹⁵ of the lower Taieri. In the region surrounding Maitapapa, Kāi Tahu occupied highly dispersed ‘resource zones’ centred on the river, three major inland lakes, a large inland swamp, native forest on the rugged banks of the river, and the offshore island of Moturata, as well as a long coastline and beach. These dispersed resources formed the basis of an economy and social system characterised by mobility. A network of communications based on rivers, lakes, the coast and the land facilitated this movement. These waterways influenced the pattern of settlement, whether seasonal or permanent, and the nature of the Kāi Tahu and colonial economy.

Like Kāi Tahu, who had integrated the river into their communication and trade network, the waterway was not only central to the establishment of settler

⁴¹³ Sandra Coney (ed.) *Standing in the Sunshine*, (Auckland, Viking, 1993), p. 186. Joan Metge and Donna Durie-Hall, “Kua Tutū Te Puehu, Kia Mau: Maori Aspirations and Family Law,” in Mark Hanaghan and Bill Atkin (eds.) *Family Law Policy in New Zealand*, (Auckland, Auckland University Press, 1992), p. 63. Under the 1847 Marriage Ordinance marriages conducted within ‘native custom’ were exempted from English law, particularly with regard to property inheritance. See Tom Bennion and Judy Boyd, *Succession to Maori Land, 1900-52*, (Wellington, Waitangi Tribunal, 1997), p. 6.

⁴¹⁴ Anne Bromell, *Tracing Family History in New Zealand*, (Wellington, GP Publications, 1991), p. 25.

⁴¹⁵ P. J. Coutts, “Merger or Takeover: A Survey of the Effects of Contact Between European and Maori in the Foveaux Strait Region,” *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 1969, 78, 4, pp. 495-516.

industry at the Taieri but also a significant mediator of intermarriage bringing together Kāi Tahu and Pākehā men in a shared economy. Waterways dominate the physical environment at lower Taieri. It is along the river and coastline that settlement was situated and where zones of contact were located. The Taieri River was a central facet of the British colonization of the lower plains. For Margaret Shaw, the tidal river and the sea “influence the stories of the river settlements.”⁴¹⁶ In an era preceding the establishment of the railway and road the river hosted a large volume of water traffic that used the Taieri Ferry and the kāika as stopping points.

The participation of men such as William Palmer, William Overton, James Smith, and Peter Campbell in the development of a colonial economy at lower Taieri was contingent upon intermarriage. The river was not only the site where intermarriage initially took place but it was also central to maintaining the process. By 1853 former whaler William Palmer was engaged in shipbuilding with the Campbell family at Taieri Mouth. It was through this economic relationship centred on the exploitation of the resources of lower Taieri that his ‘half-caste’ daughter Hannah and Peter Campbell junior met and subsequently married in 1866.⁴¹⁷ In short, the ‘resource zones’ of the river and lakes can be understood as ‘contact zones’ as Mary Louise Pratt terms them: social spaces where groups ‘meet, clash, and grapple with each other’ in a process of cultural dialogue, exchange and interaction.⁴¹⁸

While the waterways continued to influence the economy, settlement and patterns of contact, with the purchase of the Otago Block by the New Zealand Company in 1844, which paved the way for large-scale British settlement in the region from 1848, the land became an important site of contact and conflict. From 1848, forestry and farming was integral to the Kāi Tahu experience of colonization. The lower Taieri attracted British settlement as most of the millable timber could be found in the south and west of the plain; the river was a natural communication route;

⁴¹⁶ Margaret S. Shaw, *The Taieri Plain: Tales of the Years that are Gone*, (Dunedin, Otago Centennial Publications, 1949), p. 77.

⁴¹⁷ Peter J. Joseph to John Bowie, 15/8/1936, AB 42 1/1/31-65, (OSM).

⁴¹⁸ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, (London, Routledge, 1992), p. 4.

and the soil was heavier and more fertile at the southern end of the plain.⁴¹⁹ These attractions are reflected in colonial settlement patterns of the 1850s, which provide a framework for understanding the nature of the colonial economy in the region. At the end of 1855 the first census of Otago was held. In that year, there were 459 settlers on the Taieri Plain, contributing to a pattern of scattered settlement southwards along its margins.⁴²⁰ Early settlement, at Henley, Otokia and Waihola was established on the hills that framed the Taieri Plain until the inland swamp was drained and a flood protection system was established. The clearing of the bush was begun through burning in an effort to establish productive farmland, shelters and gardens while fences were built on the land with local materials supplied through the sawmilling industry.⁴²¹ The largest British settlements in this period were located at Otokia, north of Maitapapa and at Taieri Ferry, opposite the kāika. The kāika was thus positioned right in the centre of trade and settlement, while the ferry bridge increased accessibility to the southern bank of the river. With the discovery of gold in 1861, the river settlements grew, as did trade and river traffic, alongside the establishment of accommodation houses, particularly at Taieri Ferry. At this time, the kāika and Taieri Ferry became a way-station for prospectors and travellers.⁴²² These physical places of settlement and economy were also cultural spaces of contact.

Marriage patterns at Taieri from 1850 were characterized by new British male settlers such as William Bryant, John Wellman, and James Tanner marrying the ‘half-caste’ and ‘quarter-caste’ daughters of former sealers and whalers. John Wellman arrived in Dunedin on the passenger ship *Ajax* in 1849 aged 30 years as a single man under the name John Willmott.⁴²³ John Dickson arrived in Dunedin on the *Philip Laing* in 1848 with his parents who settled and farmed at Kuri Bush.⁴²⁴ Many of these

⁴¹⁹ G. F. Davis, “Old Identities and New Iniquities: The Taieri Plain in Otago Province, 1770-1870,” (MA, University of Otago, 1974), p. 79.

⁴²⁰ ‘Taming the Taieri Plain was no easy task,’ *Otago Daily Times*, 6/4/1985.

⁴²¹ R. J. Stuart, *Henley, Taieri Ferry and Otokia: A Schools and District History*, (Outram, Reunion Committee, 1981), pp. 20-21.

⁴²² Win Parkes and Kath Hislop, *Taieri Mouth and its Surrounding Districts*, (Dunedin, Otago Heritage Books, 1980), pp. 25 and 29.

⁴²³ Elizabeth Rangi to Angela Wanhalla, undated, p. 4.

⁴²⁴ Allan Lavell, 20/72003.

men have left few records of their arrival in Dunedin. Nevertheless, there is no evidence that they came with family groups.

Table 5: Marriages (Maitapapa Women): 1850-1889

Name	'Race'	Groom	Occupation	Birthplace	Year	Place
Elizabeth Palmer	Half	James Crane	Pit Sawyer	Wales	1852	Henley
Ann Holmes	Half	William Palmer	Shipbuilder	Sydney	1853	Henley
Harriet Palmer	Quarter	William Overton	Fisherman	England	1865	Henley
Hannah Palmer	Half	Peter Campbell	Bushman	Scotland	1866	Henley
Mary Palmer	Half	William Bryant	Labourer	England	1868	Otokia
Eliza Brown	Half	William Neil	Labourer		1868	Henley
Ann Williams	Half	John Wellman	Farmer	England	1875	Milton
Harriet Palmer	Quarter	Stephen Bishop	Blacksmith		1875	Henley
Eliza Palmer	Quarter	Walter Gibb	Farmer	Scotland	1876	Milton
Sarah Palmer	Half	John Parata*	Farmer	Otakou	1878	Waikouaiti
Amelia Crane	Quarter	Charles Flutey*	Farmer	Akaroa	1878	Tuahiwi
Elizabeth Crane	Quarter	Takiana Manihera†	Farmer	Wellington	1881	Lyttleton
Mary Smith	Quarter	Frederick Cook	Shepherd	Australia	1883	Henley
Martha Palmer	Quarter	John Dickson	Farmer	Kuri Bush	1883	Dunedin
Mere Bryant	Half	James Tanner	Labourer	Ireland	1885	East Taieri
Jane Brown	Half	James Smith*	Labourer	Taieri Ferry	1886	Waiholā
Charlotte Sherburne	Quarter	Joe Crane*	Farmer	Waiholā	1886	Henley
Agnes Campbell	Quarter	James Liddell	Farmer	Scotland	1888	Milton
Beatrice Palmer	Quarter	Cornelius Johnson	Fisherman	Holland	1889	Christchurch

* Kāi Tahu descent

† Māori (iwi unknown)

Source: Registered Marriage Certificates, (BDM).

The shift from the water to the land in the development of the colonial economy at Taieri is revealed in the male occupations listed in Table Five. One significant trend is the rapid shift amongst the men from wage labour to land ownership. James Crane, the first man listed in Table Five, initially engaged in pit sawing until he took up farming in Milton in the early 1860s. Pit sawing was one of the first industries to be established at the lower Taieri. Indeed, while the whaling station was still in existence the economic potential of the local timber did not go unnoticed and after the abandonment of the station, early settlers exploited rimu, kahikatea, matai and totara, much of which was pit sawn.⁴²⁵ William Palmer continued his link with shipping in his employment as a ship's carpenter.⁴²⁶ William Overton initially engaged in the fledgling fishing economy at lower Taieri before

⁴²⁵ *Otago Witness*, 26/4/1927, p. 76.

⁴²⁶ *New Zealand Government Gazette, Province of Otago*, 26/8/1857, p. 100.

eventually working land near the kāika. As early as 1857, James Crane was recorded as a freeholder, as was Edwin Palmer in 1855 and John Wellman, who was described as an agriculturalist and freeholder ‘near Taieri Ferry’, in 1857.⁴²⁷ By the mid-1870s, the category ‘farmer’ began to dominate, with eight of the twelve men from 1875 onwards listing farmer as their occupation on date of marriage. Many of these men farmed on the Native reserve, illustrating that intermarriage gained them access to ready land.

The second phase of intermarriage at Maitapapa coincided with a shift in male preferences from ‘full-blood’ women to women of mixed descent. A similar shift in marriage partners characterized by an identifiable preference for ‘mixed-blood’ wives also took place in Canada and was paralleled by a shift in marriage custom and practice towards western marriage forms.⁴²⁸ This trend was clearly reflected in the marriage patterns of mixed descent women at lower Taieri between 1852 and 1875. At this time the marriages entered into were predominantly between ‘half-caste’ women and settlers. These terms were not used on the marriage certificates but are employed in tables throughout this thesis to highlight shifting marriage patterns over time by ‘race.’ The marriages of ‘half-caste’ women such as Eliza Brown to William Neil served to tie migrants to the kāika community. In the period 1852 to 1875, the exception was the marriage of Harriet Palmer to William Overton in 1865 who was ‘quarter-caste’ and just sixteen years of age. From 1875 to 1889 a second pattern of marriage took place at Taieri: ‘half-caste’ women were superseded by ‘quarter-castes’ as partners. In a small community, this shift can be attributed to availability. Many of the ‘quarter-caste’ women marrying after 1875 were the daughters of earlier marriages between ‘half-caste’ women and settlers. All of these marriages were formalized in western marriage ceremonies with thirteen conducted in private homes. Of these marriages six took place at the kāika, seven were in private homes outside of

⁴²⁷ Ibid., 1/3/1855, p. 34; 26/8/1857, pp. 100-101, 107.

⁴²⁸ Jennifer S. H. Brown, *Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country*, (Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, 1980), p. 73. Sylvia Van Kirk, “From “marrying-in” to “marrying-out”: changing patterns of aboriginal/non-aboriginal marriage in colonial Canada,” *Frontiers*, 23, 3, 2002, p. 1.

Maitapapa, while only five marriages were conducted in the more formal setting of the church.

Intermarriage had a gendered impact on the population structure of Kāi Tahu communities, contributing to altered settlement patterns and depopulation in the loss of Kāi Tahu women through outward migration. Ian Pool has identified strong matrilineal marriage patterns of Pākehā men living in Māori communities in the North Island. After a brief period when the residence of Pākehā men was matrilineal, families quickly moved to the margins of Māori settlements and to outlying townships.⁴²⁹ By contrast, Anderson has found that most South Island mixed descent families were patrilineal, living in Pākehā or mixed communities.⁴³⁰ In Canada, Jennifer Brown has linked patrilineality with mobility, dispersal and assimilation.⁴³¹ With the shift towards wholesale western-style marriage practices, it was through marriage that 'half-caste' women underwent assimilation. Indeed, according to Sylvia Van Kirk, given that it was more likely for mixed descent women to marry than their brothers, "marriage would be [the] key to their assimilation," and to their securing a position and acceptance within wider society.⁴³² At Taieri assimilation was tied to 'blood' categories, marriage and settlement patterns.

The settlement patterns at Taieri were both matrilineal and patrilineal. Marriage tied migrant men to a community and to land but, from the 1870s, a new pattern of patrilineal settlement became evident. A small number of Kāi Tahu women of mixed descent who married Pākehā men in the period from the 1850s to the 1880s, also left the Maitapapa kāika. Eliza Palmer, the daughter of Sarah Brown and Ned Palmer, worked as a domestic in the home of the Gibb family of Taieri Beach. It was not until after the death of the Gibb family matriarch that Eliza and Walter Gibb married.⁴³³

⁴²⁹ Ian Pool cited in Atholl Anderson, *Race against time*, (Dunedin, Hocken Library, 1991), p. 31.

⁴³⁰ Ibid.

⁴³¹ Brown, 1980, p. 220.

⁴³² Sylvia Van Kirk, "'What if Mama is an Indian?'" The cultural ambivalence of the Alexander Ross family," in Jacqueline Peterson and Jennifer S. H. Brown (eds.) *The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Métis in North America*, (Manitoba, University of Manitoba Press, 1985), p. 209 and Sylvia Van Kirk, "Tracing the Fortunes of Five Founding Families of Victoria," *BC Studies*, No. 115/116, Autumn/Winter 1997/98, p. 151.

⁴³³ John Hanning to Bowie 25/3/1938, AB 42 1/1/31-65, (OSM).

Likewise, Eliza's sister Martha married into the Dickson family, a prominent farming family from Kuri Bush. Hannah Campbell's daughter Agnes married Scotsman James Liddell, 25 years her senior, and resided and farmed at Akatore, Green Island and Taieri Beach where they had a family of six children.⁴³⁴ Through these marriages, ties to the settler community were developed and assimilation of mainly 'quarter-caste' women into the outlying river settlements and into positions within respectable farming families and communities took place. Women's assimilation into local farming communities was assisted by physical appearance or a lack of visible 'Māoriness', as the image of Eliza Palmer illustrates. Eliza's Pākehā appearance is reinforced by western dress. Also important to this pattern of movement beyond the boundaries of the reserve was land. In contrast to male settlers of the 1850s and 1860s, men such as Walter Gibb and John Dickson had no need to live on and cultivate the reserve land and thus their 'quarter-caste' wives moved to family farms located beyond the Taieri Native Reserve.



Illustration 5: Eliza Palmer married Walter Gibb, a Taieri Beach Farmer of Scottish birth, in 1876.

Source: E. M. Palmer (Personal Collection).

⁴³⁴ Marriage Certificate: Agnes Campbell to James Liddell 1888/36/2617. Death Certificates: James Liddell 1927/5082; Agnes Liddell 1935/17779. Birth Certificates: Mary Liddell 1890/16326; Agnes Liddell 1892/15838; Lina Liddell 1895/2236; Lawrence Liddell 1898/13055; Colin Campbell Liddell 1902/11765. Death Certificate: James Liddell 1958/1734. See Sutherland, p. 62.

Women's movement beyond the boundaries of the reserve is supported by national census statistics. In the 1874 census the 'half-caste' population recorded as 'living as European' in the general population at Taieri was eight men and ten women.⁴³⁵ This figure represents only those of mixed descent living outside the boundaries of the Taieri Native Reserve. Therefore, given the marriage tables for Taieri men and women, the figures suggest that in 1874 it is likely that the ten women living outside the reserve are those who have married 'out'. From Table Five, at least six of the ten women living outside the reserve can be accounted for by intermarriage: Elizabeth Crane, Ann Palmer, Harriet Overton, Hannah Campbell, Mary Bryant and Eliza Neil. It is most likely that the eight men living outside the reserve were either engaged in seasonal employment or were the children of these mixed marriages.

By the 1878 national census those of mixed descent recorded in the general population at Taieri comprised five men and nine women, a total of fourteen who had settled outside the boundaries of the reserve.⁴³⁶ It seems numbers had remained stable since the 1874 census. In the 1881 census, the 'half-caste' population in the general population at Taieri was placed at only three women.⁴³⁷ The native district officer found 32 people of mixed descent living at the 'native settlement' in the same year.⁴³⁸ These figures are an indication, at the micro-level at least, that intermarriage in terms of moving beyond the boundaries of the reserve was predominantly gendered female.

Gendering Intermarriage

In the international scholarship on ethnic intermarriage the focus of study has often been indigenous women. This is unsurprising given that first encounters were characterized by intermarriage between western men and indigenous women. Indigenous men did not experience colonization in the same way as their daughters or

⁴³⁵ *Results of a Census of New Zealand taken for the night of the 27th February 1874*, (Wellington, Government Printer, 1875), p. 13.

⁴³⁶ *Results of a Census of the Colony of New Zealand taken for the night of the 3rd of March 1878*, (Wellington, Government Printer, 1880), p. 11.

⁴³⁷ *Results of a Census of the Colony of New Zealand taken for the night of the 3rd of April 1881*, (Wellington, Government Printer, 1882), p. 12.

⁴³⁸ *AJHR*, G-3, 1881, p. 26.

sisters. Marriage is inherently gendered and greater attention needs to be paid to the colonial marriage experience of indigenous men. For Taieri men of mixed descent, their experience of colonization was also shaped by intermarriage. Nevertheless, given colonial demographics, initially it was Māori women who were more likely to marry ‘out’ than Māori men.

Intermarriage was highlighted by colonial officials in the form of census enumerators and district native officers as having a role to play in depopulation. A persistent theme in these reports was the complicity of Māori women in this process. In his 1878 report, South Island Native Officer Alexander Mackay argued that depopulation of the Māori ‘race’ could be attributed to Māori women intermarrying and to the infertility of Māori men. Yet, the saving of the ‘race’, he believed, lay with white men and interracial unions “as sexual unions between the females and Europeans are usually prolific, but unions with males of their own race are rarely so.”⁴³⁹ Thus, indigenous women’s bodies and reproductive possibilities with white men were a concern of Mackay and other officials. In this sense, ‘colonial desire’ was patriarchal, as it gave little weight to the possibility of interracial sex or more formal unions between white women and indigenous men. In his 1881 census report, Alexander Mackay reported that Māori men’s “habits and mode of life preclude the possibility of intermarrying with Europeans.”⁴⁴⁰ This was certainly not the case at Taieri when the possibilities of intermarriage for mixed descent men increased with the expansion of British settlement of Otago from the 1870s.

Taieri mixed descent men’s marriage patterns were very different to those of their sisters, as is evident in Table Six. First, intermarriage for mixed descent men took place a decade later than their sisters and second, it took place on a smaller scale. Anderson found a similar trend for mixed descent men in his study of intermarriage patterns amongst Kāi Tahu over the nineteenth century.⁴⁴¹ Third, these marriages took place outside of the community. Therefore, these men were marrying ‘out’ in a double

⁴³⁹ Alexander Mackay to Under-Secretary Native Department, 27/5/1878, *AJHR*, G-2, 1878, p. 8.

⁴⁴⁰ Alexander Mackay to Under Secretary Native Department, 30/4/1881, *AJHR*, G-3, 1881, p. 9.

⁴⁴¹ Anderson, 1991, p. 9.

sense: they were marrying ‘out’ to Pākehā women and they were marrying ‘outside’ of their community.

Table 6: Marriages (Maitapapa Men): 1879-1889

Name	‘Race’	Bride	Occupation	Birthplace	Year	Place
William Brown	Half	Margaret Davis*		Fortrose	1879	Toetoe
George Palmer	Quarter	Mary List		England	1882	Allanton
James Palmer	Quarter	Agnes Reid		West Taieri	1884	Dunedin
William Palmer	Quarter	Jessie Clifford		Otokia	1884	Outram
Thomas Palmer	Quarter	Hannah Perkins		Kuri Bush	1886	Kuri Bush
Thomas Crane	Quarter	Ellen Payne		England	1888	Otokia
George Brown	Half	Helen McNaught		Scotland	1889	Henley
William Crane	Quarter	Charlotte Paipeta*			1889	Tuahiwi

* Kāi Tahu descent

Source: Marriage Certificates 1870-1889, (BDM).

The smaller number of marriages of Taieri mixed descent men, as compared to those of their sisters, was often dictated by external factors such as a lack of available partners, the need to be mobile for the purposes of economic survival, the unavailability of land on the reserve, and the impact of racial prejudice. These men’s marriage choices were shaped by a lack of available Kāi Tahu partners in close proximity, as many of the Taieri Kāi Tahu families were connected through marriage and kinship ties. Reduced opportunities for marriage were influenced not only by ties of kinship but also by broader demographic factors. National marriage figures reveal that there was a surplus of single men in the Otago district, a reflection of the developing colonial economy. In 1881 there were 161 single men to 100 women in the Otago district, reducing the opportunity for marriage for a number of men.⁴⁴² Marrying ‘out’ to Pākehā women or remaining single were the two options for Taieri men of mixed descent.

One first cousin marriage did take place but not between two Taieri families. This marriage was between Sarah Palmer, daughter of Sarah Brown and Ned Palmer of Maitapapa and John Parata, son of Elizabeth Brown and Tame Parata of Puketeraki. Such marriages were often arranged by family and served to connect and

⁴⁴² *National Census 1881*, p. 90.

maintain whakapapa and resources.⁴⁴³ The belief that the marriage between Sarah and John was an arranged one is strengthened by the status of the Parata family, considered to be the leading family of Puketeraki, and the grant of land to both Sarah senior and Elizabeth Parata in the Taieri Native Reserve. The marriage between their children strengthened family ties by connecting whakapapa and maintained the recognition of rights and access to resources. Nevertheless, Sarah and John never resided at Maitapapa but at Puketeraki. Understandably, their place of residence was dictated by the status of John's parents and the greater access to good farm land. In this case, first cousin marriage reflected not only a lack of choice in marriage partners but also the maintenance of a system of arranged marriage which was not that unusual traditionally. However, such marriages were unusual at Taieri.



Illustration 6: Sarah Palmer who married her cousin John Parata at Puketeraki in 1878.

Source: E. M. Palmer (Personal Collection).

Between 1850 and 1889, eight Kāi Tahu men of marriageable age defined as eighteen years and over, never married. John Brown died of kidney failure at the age

⁴⁴³ See Bruce Biggs, *Maori Marriage: An Essay in Reconstruction*, (Wellington, Reed, 1960), p. 27.

of nineteen. Robert Sherburd died at the age of 26 of tuberculosis (Tb).⁴⁴⁴ Arthur Crane also died young at the age of 24 of pneumonia, while Frederick Neil drowned at Bluff aged nineteen.⁴⁴⁵ William Palmer died during a snow storm while droving in the high country. It is not known to what age George Palmer lived but family tradition and local history states that he did not marry.⁴⁴⁶ Both Robert Brown and Benjamin Overton lived into their sixties, remaining for the majority of their lives farming at the kāika. There may be a number of reasons why these men did not marry. It is possible that the decision to remain single was one of personal choice. It is also possible that their occupation, especially in the case of William Palmer who lived an itinerant life as a drover, was a disincentive to marry.

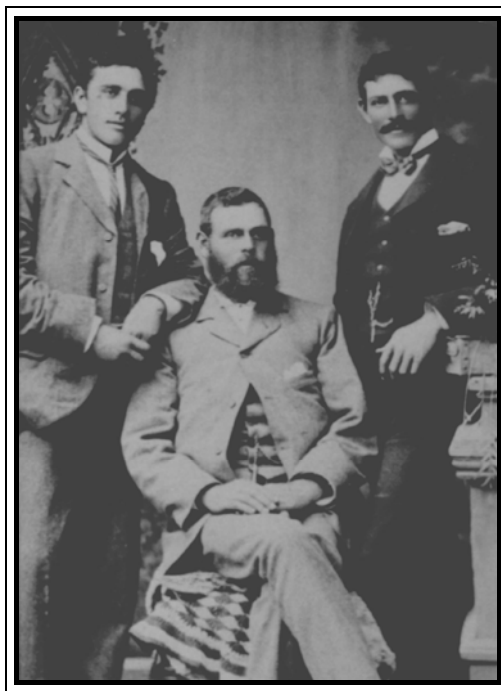


Illustration 7: L to R: Robert, William and Jack Palmer.

Source: E. M. Palmer (Personal Collection).

Racial prejudice was a catalyst for conflict between Kāi Tahu and settler in the community, evidence that while intermarriage was extensive at Taieri it was not

⁴⁴⁴ Death Certificates: John Charles Brown, 1885/466; Robert Sherburd, 1893/6184.

⁴⁴⁵ Death Certificate: Arthur George Crane, 1897/5125. Marea Johnson, 24 January 2003.

⁴⁴⁶ Death Certificate: William Richard Palmer, 1917/6345.

always accepted. Such was the case with the marriage of James Palmer to Agnes Reid in 1888. The union was not supported by the Reid family, who did not attend the ceremony at Knox Church, Dunedin.⁴⁴⁷ The reaction of the Reid family to the marriage of their daughter to a man of mixed descent gives an insight into gender relations and understandings of intermarriage at a specific time and place in colonial New Zealand. In this case, the relationship between Agnes and James (Illustration 8) was perceived as illicit. The absence of the family at the ceremony demonstrates that the patriarchal pattern of intermarriage was more acceptable and respectable than a marriage between a white woman of middle-class status and a man of mixed descent, with few claims to respectability. An attempt at respectability and claims to acceptance is demonstrated by the place of marriage, Knox Church, which was one of the most important Presbyterian churches in Dunedin. Margaret Jacobs argues that attitudes “toward interracial marriage depend[ed] on the gender of the white person involved.”⁴⁴⁸ In general, relationships between white men/colonizer and indigenous women/colonized were tolerated because they “represented extensions and reinforcements of colonialism, conquest, and domination.”⁴⁴⁹ By contrast, marriages between white women and indigenous or mixed descent men undermined racial hierarchies, which marriages between white men and indigenous women confirmed, by violating the colonial and patriarchal order in which white men represented the pinnacle of civilization. Thus, the marriage between Agnes and James challenged the social order and gender relations by illustrating that white women, long positioned as the upholders of ‘civilization’, morality and racial purity, could sexually desire the hybrid body. The dominance of the patriarchal pattern of intermarriage at Taieri continued the colonization of Kāi Tahu through the assimilation of women into settler society.

⁴⁴⁷ Ken W. Reid, *The Reids of West Taieri*, (Mosgiel, 1990), p. 42.

⁴⁴⁸ Margaret D. Jacobs, “The Eastmans and the Luhans: interracial marriage between white women and Native American men, 1875-1935,” *Frontiers*, 23, 3, 2002, p. 30.

⁴⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

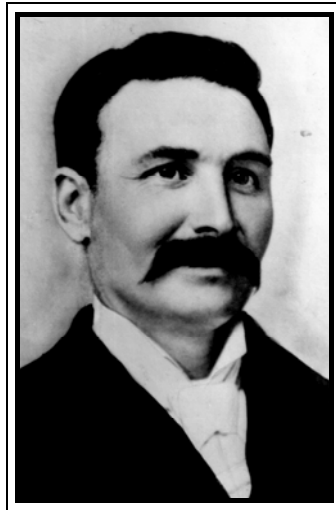


Illustration 8: James Henry Palmer

Source: Coral Beattie (Personal Collection).

Of the men listed in Table Six, only William Brown and William Crane married Kāi Tahu women. The marriage of William to Margaret Davis linked the Browns to a family who had strong connections throughout the lower South Island, creating ties of kinship to a number of well-known Kāi Tahu families of mixed descent such as the Dawsons, the Wixons and the Owens. The marriage of William Crane to Charlotte Areta Paipeta/Piper consolidated and continued the link between Tuahiwi and Taieri, as well as connecting the Crane and Paipeta families. Such marriages exemplify the way in which intermarriage in the second generation gave rise to complex webs of kinship amongst Kāi Tahu families of mixed descent. Most importantly, these marriages connected not only Kāi Tahu kāika, families and whakapapa but also symbolically tied these families to Kāi Tahu identity. Thus, it was not always the case that intermarriage represented loss. Instead, it could act to consolidate, confirm and, given ‘half-caste’ and ‘quarter-caste’ status, authenticate an individual and family as Kāi Tahu. However, marriages such as these constituted a minority amongst the mixed descent women and men of Maitapapa.

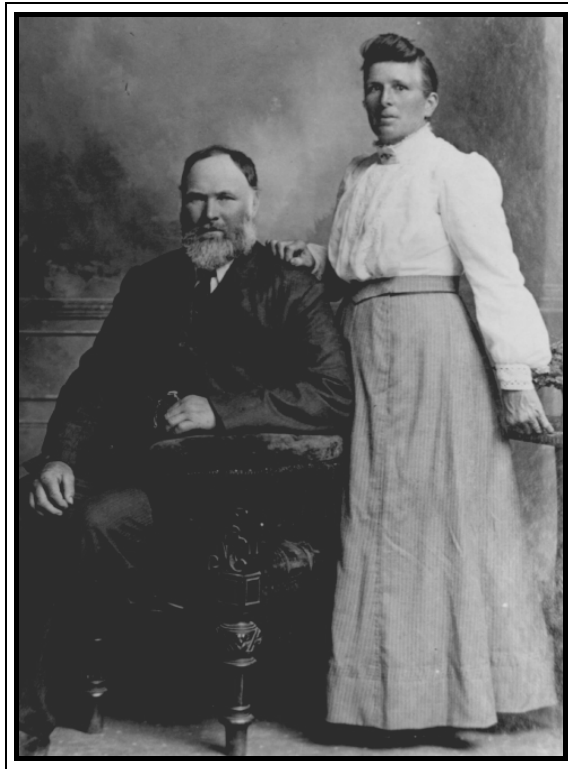


Illustration 9: George Palmer and Mary List.

Source: Coral Beattie (Personal Collection).

While few mixed descent men from Taieri married, there are similarities to the marriage patterns of Taieri women of mixed descent. First, of the remaining men listed in Table Six, all married women who had immigrated to New Zealand as children or had arrived as single women migrants. Helen McNaught, who married George Brown at Henley in 1889, was born in Scotland and arrived in Dunedin as an adult migrant in 1880 on the *Oamaru*, along with her family who settled in Dunedin.⁴⁵⁰ Ellen Payne who married Thomas Crane in 1888 arrived in Dunedin with her family aged six years on the *Tweed* in 1874 and Mary List, who married George Palmer in 1882, also arrived with her family in Dunedin from London in 1874 aged nine years on the *Hindostan*.⁴⁵¹ Unlike Pākehā men who often arrived as single adults, these women arrived with their parents and siblings and in some cases extended family. The dispersed pattern of these marriages is evidence that they cannot be seen as serving to

⁴⁵⁰ Otago Ships Assisted Passengers Index Vol. 2, M-Z, 1872-1888, (HL).

⁴⁵¹ Ibid.

assimilate single white women into the Maitapapa community. Apart from the union between George Brown and Helen McNaught who married in the home of George's parents, few of these couples resided for a long period at Maitapapa.

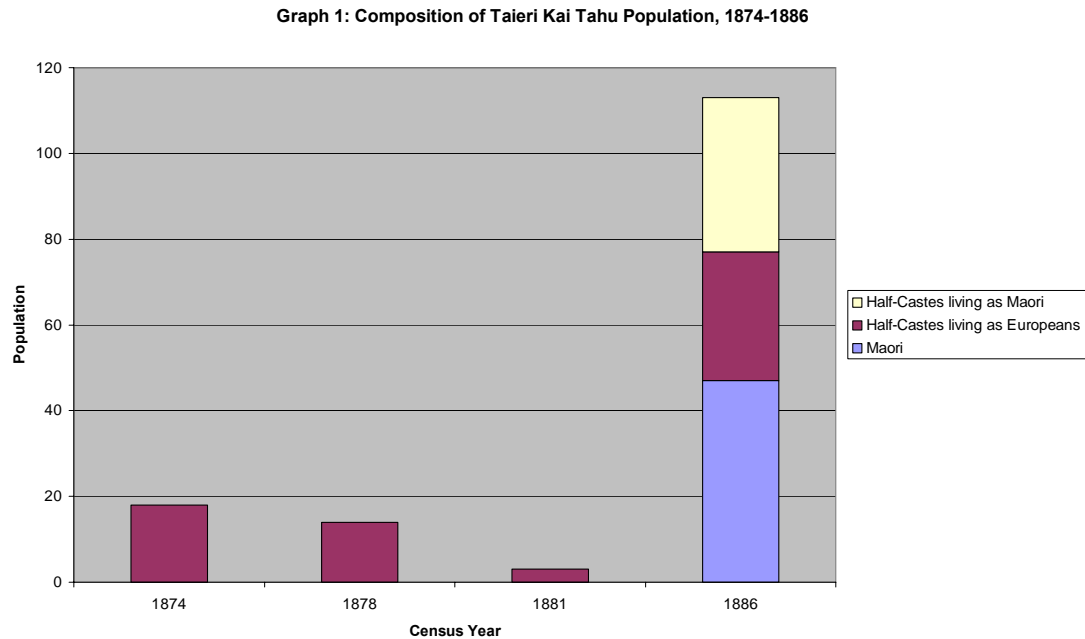


Illustration 10: Helen McNaught and George Brown.
Source: David Brown (Personal Collection).

Second, mixed descent men increasingly married the daughters of local settlers. William Palmer married Jessie Clifford and family recollect that she had been raised after the death of her parents by neighbours at Taieri Ferry, opposite the kāika.⁴⁵² Thomas Palmer married Hannah Perkins the daughter of George, a farmer at Kuri Bush, located on the northern bank of the Taieri River situated near the coast. Archibald Campbell, the brother of Peter who married Hannah Palmer, married Naomi Perkins a sister of Hannah.⁴⁵³ These marriages acted to form further ties of kinship between those of mixed descent and settlers.

⁴⁵² K. Bruce to Margaret Shaw, 6/11/1946, AG-71, Box 2, (OSM).

⁴⁵³ Peter Joseph to John Bowie, 15/8/1938, AB42 1/1/131-65, (OSM).



Source: National Census 1874, p. 13; National Census 1878, p. 357; National Census 1881, p. 12; National Census 1886, pp. 10, 369.

Sustained intermarriage between persons of mixed descent and Pākehā at Maitapapa contributed to the emergence of a community with a particular shape and character. National census figures in Graph One indicate that despite the movement of some mixed descent women off the reserve and to outlying river settlements, a core community of mixed ancestry was established at Maitapapa. Censuses prior to 1886 recorded the Māori and mixed descent population in an inconsistent manner. In both the 1874 and 1878 censuses only ‘half-castes living as Europeans’ were enumerated by county while the Māori population was recorded by province rather than county. In general, enumerators for the Māori census classified the mixed descent population into the following categories: ‘Half-castes living as Maori’ and ‘Half-castes living as European’ in the general population. This distinction had been formalised under the Census Act 1877 and continued until the 1921 national census.⁴⁵⁴ It was based on social and cultural factors, such as living conditions, as much as it was on genetics. Inspector Welden’s district report on the 1886 census of the Kāi Tahu population of

⁴⁵⁴ R. J. Lowe, *Iwi in Demographic Change, 1874-1951*, (Wellington, Department of Maori Affairs, 1989), p. 11.

the Otago district can be read in such a light, evidenced by its extensive comments on the living situation of local Kāi Tahu. He recorded that the population of Taieri was steadily increasing, due to ‘contentment, industry, and habits of temperance.’⁴⁵⁵

Inconsistent methods of enumeration are one factor in the upheaval revealed in the demographic trends of the Kāi Tahu population over the nineteenth century. Unlike the general census, which was undertaken over one day and night, the Māori population was enumerated over a period of a week. In the 1886 census an attempt was made to gain a more accurate national census of the ‘Native’ population. The Statistician-General stated that the census was not only ambitious but was also methodologically different to previous censuses which obtained only estimates.⁴⁵⁶ However, such claims were undermined by the revelation that not all settlements were visited and that “much of the information required was obtained from selected members of the race.”⁴⁵⁷ Despite inconsistencies the figures do indicate that the population at Taieri was growing steadily. In 1878, the recorded population at the Taieri Native Reserve was enumerated at 74, constituting 24 adults and 50 children.⁴⁵⁸ In the 1878 census no distinction had been made on the basis of ‘blood’ but Mackay’s return of births and deaths at ‘native settlements’ in the South Island in the same year placed the population at 74 of whom 67 were ‘half-castes.’⁴⁵⁹ By 1886 the total population at Taieri totalled 113 persons, of whom 30 ‘half-castes’ were recorded in the general population, while the remainder was located at the kāika. Of those living at Maitapapa, 47 were recorded as Māori and 36 were of mixed descent.⁴⁶⁰ Overall, 58 percent of the Taieri Kāi Tahu population was of mixed descent. This figure is lower than that of the mixed descent people among the Kāi Tahu population as a whole, which was 61.7 percent in 1886.⁴⁶¹ Nevertheless, national census figures confirm that

⁴⁵⁵ *AJHR*, G-12, 1886, p. 15.

⁴⁵⁶ *Results of a Census of the Colony of New Zealand taken for the night of the 28th March, 1886*, (Wellington, Government Printer, 1887), p.33.

⁴⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

⁴⁵⁸ *AJHR*, G-2, 1878, p. 25.

⁴⁵⁹ Return of Births and Deaths since June 1874 and Half-Castes at each place, MA 23/17, (ANZ-W).

⁴⁶⁰ *National Census 1886*, pp. 10, 369.

⁴⁶¹ Anderson, 1991, p. 20.

by 1886 the kāika population increasingly comprised persons of mixed descent, indicating that sustained intermarriage was central to their colonial experience.

State Intervention

The marriage patterns at Maitapapa between the 1850s and the 1880s were taking place in a context of increased Kāi Tahu preoccupation over the perceived problems posed by persons of mixed descent. While Crown land purchases and their impact on Kāi Tahu have occupied scholars of Kāi Tahu history, difficulties also arose over land for those of mixed descent. In a number of areas the ‘half-caste’ represented a rupture in Kāi Tahu economic, political and social life. Nowhere was this more obvious than over the question of land rights. Māori appeals for Pākehā responsibility of mixed descent children had taken place from the 1860s. In a discussion of an advertisement placed by Hinemare in the Māori language newspaper *Te Waka Maori a Ahuriri* of February 1866, which made claims about the abduction and sexual abuse of children by a Pākehā man, Lyndsay Head examines the centrality of gender and ethnicity to a reading of this text as an expression of cultural and social change.⁴⁶² Head reveals that the emphasis Hinemare placed on the ethnicity of her children was a conscious attempt to make claims for assistance upon the Pākehā community, to which her children, because of their dual heritage, could claim to belong. In the Kāi Tahu world, missionary baptisms and marriages discussed in Chapter Two were underpinned by a process of re-naming. A changed whakapapa had immense significance for Kāi Tahu identity, and for those of mixed descent the recognition of a Pākehā name also implied an acceptance of shared responsibility.

It was through the small detail of names, not just legislation, that sections of Pākehā society revealed their shared responsibility for hāwhe-kaike/‘half-caste’

⁴⁶² Lyndsay Head, “The Abduction of Hinemare’s Children,” *History Now*, 8, 4, 2002, pp. 20-22. Also see Lachy Paterson, “Kiri Mā, Kiri Mangu: The Terminology of Race and Civilisation in the Mid-Nineteenth-Century Maori-Language Newspapers,” in Jenifer Curnow, Ngapare Hopa and Jane McRae (eds.) *Rere atu, taku manu! Discovering history, language and politics in the Maori-language newspapers*, (Auckland, Auckland University Press, 2002), pp. 78-97.

children in colonial New Zealand.⁴⁶³ The use of English names in official lists, such as census returns and returns of land grants, represented official acceptance of the ‘half-caste’ in colonial New Zealand. Indeed, despite some reluctance, there was an underlying recognition through the Half-Caste Removal Disability Act of 1860, that the government had some responsibility for the children of interracial unions, the inhabitants of an intermediary space between two cultures.

The question of state responsibility for ‘half-caste’ children centred on two areas: the need to educate ‘half-castes’ and their property rights. From the 1850s officials and commentators remarked on the growing hybrid population in New Zealand, directing special attention to ‘half-caste’ women. While “a half-caste girl may be a suitable companion. She is gentle in temper and disposition, has no desire for change, and is contented with her lot”⁴⁶⁴ she could also be dangerous. For Attorney-General William Swainson, the beauty of the ‘half-caste’ woman represented a threat to the civilized state of men in the new colony, because:

The man has no spur to ambition in his companion; he becomes attached by her gentleness; finds himself surrounded by a troop of pretty children; and if he should afterwards have the means of returning to society, he has not the inclination: indeed, were it otherwise, his children and their mother are unfitted for the usages of civilized life; and, bound by the ties of nature, he has not the heart to leave them.⁴⁶⁵

In the preceding extract, the ‘half-caste’ girl exists as both physically attractive and dangerous. This tension is consistent with Young’s theory of hybridity, which he suggests disrupts racial hierarchies, ushering in an internal dissonance which brought the fear of the collapse of civilization.⁴⁶⁶ In this case, if she remained uneducated, the ‘half-caste’ girl became a danger to progress and ‘civilization’.

The problems posed by the ‘half-caste’ in colonial New Zealand were also noted in an 1856 report of a Board appointed by the Governor to inquire into and report upon

⁴⁶³ Head, p. 21.

⁴⁶⁴ William Swainson, *New Zealand and its Colonization*, (London, Smith, Elder and Co., 1859), p. 28.

⁴⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁶ Robert Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race*, (London, Routledge, 1995), p. 95.

the state of Native Affairs in New Zealand. In a section devoted to the subject of ‘half-caste’ children, the Board stated that:

The half-caste race, occupying as they do an intermediate station between the European and native, have neither the advantages of the one, nor the other, and whose future destiny may, by proper management, be directed in the well being of the Colony, or by neglect be turned in a contrary course. They are objects of great solicitude to their native relatives, as well as to their European fathers, who desire to secure them sufficient portions of land for their maintenance, and when such is the case there is every reason for the co-operation of the Government. The Board would therefore recommend provided the native title is in the first place extinguished, that Crown grants should be issued in their favour in trust to some public functionary.⁴⁶⁷

This passage features a number of themes relating to the ‘half-caste’. First, the ‘half-caste’ occupied an intermediary space, socially and particularly, legally. Second, the uneducated ‘half-caste’ was constructed as troublesome or dangerous and if not properly managed would potentially undermine the process of civilization.

Education was viewed by the state as a transformative agent. Through education in British values and culture, the perceived subversive potential of the ‘half-caste’ could be negated.⁴⁶⁸ Education of Māori was a concern of the state since the mid-nineteenth century, but for those of mixed descent successive colonial governments positioned education as the key to their management and control.⁴⁶⁹ Under the Native Schools Act 1867 a system of native schools was established throughout New Zealand in Māori communities. The schools and their teachers undertook a ‘civilising mission’ designed to assimilate children, and by extension their parents, to British language

⁴⁶⁷ Report of the Board Appointed to Inquire into and Report upon the state of Native Affairs, 1856, *Great Britain Parliamentary Papers (GBPP)*, Vol. 11, 1860, p. 107.

⁴⁶⁸ Ann Laura Stoler, “Sexual Affronts and Racial Frontiers: European Identities and the Cultural Politics of Exclusion in Colonial Southeast Asia,” in Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (eds.) *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1997), pp. 201-202.

⁴⁶⁹ On the school as a ‘tool of empire’ in the assimilation and ‘Europeanisation’ of Maori see J. M. Barrington and T. H. Beaglehole “‘A part of Pakeha society’: Europeanising the Maori child,” in J. A. Mangan (ed.) *Making Imperial Mentalities: Socialisation and British Imperialism*, (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1990), pp. 163-183.

and culture.⁴⁷⁰ A native school at Taieri was first proposed in 1868 by Native Commissioner Alexander Mackay, who visited the settlement in January that year to explain the object of the 1867 Native Schools Act. At Taieri, Mackay found “a number of very nice children in this settlement, chiefly half-castes, and the parents expressed themselves willing to assist in any way that lay in their power to further the establishment of a school in the district.”⁴⁷¹ In February 1868, the Taieri people wrote to Mackay stating: “We, the meeting of Taieri, acquiesce in this proposal of yours, that is, the training of our children to good habits and principles.”⁴⁷² The support of the local settlers in this endeavour “in order to secure a school for their children in the neighbourhood” saw the establishment of a mixed rather than a native school at Taieri Ferry opposite the kāika.⁴⁷³

Due to the widespread nature of intermarriage, mixed schools located near kāika were preferred by the officials in the Otago region as the official view was that “it will be difficult to find a Maori in Otago.”⁴⁷⁴ Indeed, the “few (so-called) Natives who remain in the Province are so scattered and mixed up with the Europeans, that excepting at Otago Heads and Ruapuke, the only possible way in which they can be instructed is that pursued by Mr Watt, viz., by placing them in the European schools which are nearer to their abodes.”⁴⁷⁵ By 1872, Miss Christie managed a school in the lower Taieri taking both mixed descent and settler children. The Inspector of Schools, A. H. Russell, visited the school that year and reported finding nine ‘native’ pupils along with a larger number of settler children, “from who they were scarcely to be distinguished” in appearance, cleanliness and state of health.⁴⁷⁶ It seems that the

⁴⁷⁰ See Judith Simon (ed.) *The native schools system 1867-1969*, (Auckland, Auckland University Press, 1998). Judith Simon and Linda Tuhiwai Smith (eds.) *A civilising mission?: perceptions and representations of the Native Schools system*, (Auckland, Auckland University Press, 2001).

⁴⁷¹ Copy of Report, Alexander Mackay to Native Minister, 7/2/1868, in Alexander Mackay, *A Compendium of Official Documents Relative to Native Affairs in the South Island, Volume II*, (Wellington, Government Printer, 1872), p. 148.

⁴⁷² Enclosure in Copy of Report, Alexander Mackay, Native Commissioner to Native Minister, 7/2/1868, in Mackay, *Compendium Volume II*, p. 149.

⁴⁷³ Copy of Report, Alexander Mackay to Native Minister, 7/2/1868, in Mackay, *Compendium Volume II*, p. 148.

⁴⁷⁴ *AJHR*, F-5, 1872, p. 28.

⁴⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

⁴⁷⁶ A. H. Russell to Native Minister, 31/8/1872, *AJHR*, 1872, F-5, p. 28.

mixed descent children were successfully becoming assimilated to western standards of dress and behaviour, assisted by their 'blood' status. In examination reports inspectors noted the 'blood' status of mixed descent children at Taieri Ferry School, initially labeling all as 'half-caste'. Between 1879 and 1881, Alexander Brown, William Sherburd, Frederick Neil, Jane Bryant, Sarah Sherburd, Jane Brown, Alice Smith, Sarah Overton, William Bryant, Ben Overton, Caroline Overton, Kate Bryant and Robert Sherburd were all described as 'half-caste'.⁴⁷⁷ In 1882 and 1885, clear distinctions between 'half-castes' and 'quarter-castes' were noted in the registers.⁴⁷⁸

Native School Inspector reports indicate that the 'half-caste' child was perceived as a suitable site of government intervention and reform. Inspectors often measured the success of 'civilization' and 'Europeanization' of mixed descent children on the basis of language, dress and appearance. Concern was shown in 1874 that not all eligible children were attending the government subsidized schools at Taieri Ferry or Taieri Beach. Inspector Watt found that the national census indicated there were 50 eligible children, but that only seventeen had in fact attended.⁴⁷⁹ On a visit in 1875, the children were found to be "well taught, clean, and well-behaved, and seem to be greatly improved by intercourse with Europeans."⁴⁸⁰ It was at school that the children were introduced to the English language (and by extension their parents), starting with their names. At Taieri Ferry "many of the Maoris were not known by their Maori names" only their English equivalent.⁴⁸¹ As early as 1878 the fifteen 'native' children "showed a thorough acquaintance with English", and it was reported that "they invariably spoke English" at home.⁴⁸²

⁴⁷⁷ Examination Register 1879, Taieri Ferry School, AG-294-36/003; Examination Report 1880, Taieri Ferry School, AG-294-36/564; Examination Register 1881, Taieri Ferry School, AG-294-36/014, (HL).

⁴⁷⁸ Examination Register 1883, Taieri Ferry School, AG-294-36/021 and Examination Register 1885, Taieri Ferry School, AG-294-36/043, (HL).

⁴⁷⁹ *AJHR*, G-8, 1874, p. 14.

⁴⁸⁰ *AJHR*, G-2, 1875, p. 10.

⁴⁸¹ Joseph Craigie to Margaret Shaw, 24/12/1947, AG 71, Box 2, (OSM).

⁴⁸² *AJHR*, G-7, 1878, p. 6.



Illustration 11: Taieri Ferry School pupils in the mid 1880s. Kāika children standing in the back row include Carrie Bryant, fifth from the left, Cissie Bryant, sixth from the left, Molly Overton, twelfth from the left, and Harriet Overton, fourth from the right. William Sherburd is third left in the front row, Walter Martin is ninth left, Tom Garth is eleventh left, Tom Bryant is sitting eighth from the right and William Wellman is fifth from the right in the front row.

Source: Thelma Smith, *Tai-ari Ferry and Henley "Our Native Place"*, (Dunedin, 1941), p. 15.

Alongside education, the area identified in the 1856 report in greatest need of statutory management was that of land rights. As early as 1844, the New Zealand Company surveyor Frederick Tuckett suggested setting aside land for the support of mixed descent children at Moeraki.⁴⁸³ Walter Mantell visited the settlement in 1848 and considered that:

For the half-castes living in such a community as that which I have broken up at Moeraki I see no future but vice and misery for the half-caste when scattered among the general population with means of education and in a better state of Society, a less bad example from their Parents with provision too against want from lands properly administered for their benefit I anticipated that good standing among us which their general natural intelligence entitles them to occupy.⁴⁸⁴

Evident in Mantell's statement is the idea of trusteeship which was associated with Crown policy on the administration of reserves from the 1840s. Land would be

⁴⁸³ Gavin McLean, *Moeraki: 150 years of net and plough share*, (Dunedin, Otago Heritage Books, 1986), p. 23.

⁴⁸⁴ Walter Mantell to Colonial Secretary, 17/5/1852, cited in Waitangi Tribunal, *Ngai Tahu Ancillary Claims Report, 1995*, (Wellington, Tribunal, 1995), p.182.

individualized and leased with a fund accruing under the management of a commissioner or trustee. This fund could then be directed towards the ‘civilization’ of the children. Individual land tenure was explicitly linked to social and moral improvement. Such concern suggests that those of mixed descent, as evident in the Board’s comments, neither fitted into their mother’s community nor were they supported by their white fathers.

At the time of the purchase of Stewart Island by the Crown in 1864, specific attention was paid to the growing mixed descent community in the far south. According to Basil Howard, Commissioner George Clarke who oversaw the purchase of Rakiura/Stewart Island induced Kāi Tahu to make provision of land at The Neck “in order to save the descendants of the early white settlers from eviction and poverty.”⁴⁸⁵ As Atholl Anderson has pointed out, prior to 1864 the land transactions in Canterbury, Otago and Murihiku were made with ‘full-blood’ Kāi Tahu and thus provision for those of mixed descent was not included in the terms of purchase.⁴⁸⁶ In terms of giving effect to the agreement reached in 1864, little was achieved until 1869 when the Public Petitions Committee received a petition from Andrew Thompson requesting some land for his ‘half-caste’ wife and his children. Thompson’s petition attested to the transgressive qualities of the ‘half-caste’ and suggested that this population was not only a troublesome prospect for Kāi Tahu and the colonial government, but also represented a problem for Pākehā spouses which they hoped the government could assist them in managing.

Some Kāi Tahu argued that many Pākehā fathers had failed to take responsibility for their children. Indeed, the MHR for Southern Māori, H. K. Taiaroa, stated that something was “required to be done for these half-castes, because their fathers had not taken notice of them, and had not provided for them. During all these years they had been living with, and had been brought up by, their Native mothers. Some of them had obtained land, but, on the contrary, others were simply squatting on what belonged to

⁴⁸⁵ Basil Howard, *Rakiura: a history of Stewart Island, New Zealand*, (Dunedin, Reed, 1940), p. 167. For a summary of the Rakiura Purchase see *The Ngai Tahu Report 1991*, (Wellington, Tribunal, 1992).

⁴⁸⁶ Anderson, 1991, p. 28.

the Maoris.”⁴⁸⁷ For Taiaroa, who represented the voice of Kāi Tahu in Parliament, the ‘half-caste’ required management by the government in recognition of their difference by ‘blood’ to Kāi Tahu. He thus suggested a shared responsibility for this group. Taiaroa alleged that until 1876 ‘half-caste’ children had been the sole responsibility of Kāi Tahu women and their communities and indeed, that the ‘half-caste’ had been an impediment to the smooth functioning of the Kāi Tahu land rights system. The presence of a mixed descent population also placed added pressure on inadequate reserves. As Chapter Three revealed the ‘half-caste’ population at Taieri was the focus of conflict over rights to the Taieri Native Reserve, which was taken to the Native Land Court for resolution. Given Taiaroa’s statement, it is clear that ‘half-castes’ represented an economic and cultural difficulty that had to be contended with by not only Kāi Tahu but also the state.

It was through land grants that the state proposed to provide for mixed descent children in the South Island. Thompson’s petition was reported on by a select committee in August of that year. The Committee reported on the “obligation on the part of the Crown to make provision out of the lands ceded by the Natives in the Ngaitahu and other Blocks in the southern portion of the Middle Island for the half-caste families resident thereon at the time of cession”, finding that an obligation to provide for ‘half-castes’ did in fact exist.⁴⁸⁸ The committee suggested that Crown lands could be used to fulfil promises made, and on that basis recommended that the Native Reserves Commissioner for the Middle Island be instructed to investigate cases of ‘half-caste’ families in Otago and Southland.⁴⁸⁹ Alexander Mackay reported back to the Native Department in October 1869 and suggested that, if large blocks of land could be found, these families could be located on their own individual sections and the process of settling such families on the land “would prevent quarreling amongst them [the mixed descent families and Kāi Tahu] in time to come.”⁴⁹⁰

⁴⁸⁷ *NZPD*, Vol. 20, 1876, p.454.

⁴⁸⁸ *AJHR*, D-20, 1870, p. 3.

⁴⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹⁰ Alexander Mackay to Under-Secretary, Native Department, 6/10/1869, *AJHR*, D-20, 1870, p. 4.

Four Acts designed to deal with the difficulty perceived to be posed by the mixed descent population were passed between 1877 and 1888. In all four acts, a claim to fulfil promises to provide ‘half-caste’ persons with land in the Middle Island was made, Crown grants were to be the solution, and these grants were to be set at ten acres for men and eight acres for women. Moreover these Crown grants were to be for ‘half-castes’ only and were issued with restrictions upon alienation. As in contemporary native land legislation, if the owner wished to sell, they had to apply to the Native Land Court to have the restrictions removed, and those individuals who were granted land without restrictions had to apply to the Trust Commissioner for approval to sell. Consent was only given if the commissioner was satisfied that ‘the Natives possessed other lands’ for their maintenance.⁴⁹¹ Such legislative provisions sought to ensure Māori sellers were left with sufficient lands for their maintenance and thus to prevent Māori from becoming dependent on the state for assistance.⁴⁹² In applying these restrictions to ‘half-caste’ owners the state recognized these mixed descent families as Māori, in conformity with the definition of Māori under native lands and census legislation as inclusive of ‘half-castes’.

The Middle Island Half-Caste Crown Grants Act of 1877 was the first piece of legislation which dealt with the issue of landless ‘half-castes.’ It extended the provision of grants to those of ‘half-caste’ status who were not born on Stewart Island but were deemed equally entitled to a grant of land because of their mixed descent status.⁴⁹³ Land was to be provided from “portions of the waste lands of the Crown situate within the Provincial Districts of Canterbury and Otago” and these lands were to be issued with restrictions upon alienation, as in contemporary native reserve land.⁴⁹⁴ An amendment to the 1877 Act was passed in 1883 designed to include ‘half-

⁴⁹¹ NZPD, Vol. 76, 1892, p. 53. The Trust Commissioner was established under the Native Lands Frauds Prevention Act 1870.

⁴⁹² David V. Williams, *‘Te Kooti Tango Whenua’: The Native Land Court, 1864-1909*, (Wellington, Huia, 1999), p. 269.

⁴⁹³ Alexander Mackay to Under-Secretary, 5/9/1874, *AJHR*, G-9, 1876, p. 1.

⁴⁹⁴ *New Zealand Statutes 1877*, p.164. No specific comparison to native land legislation was included in The Middle Island Half-Caste Crown Grants Act 1877.

castes' entitled to grants under the 1877 Act but who were omitted 'by accident' from the Act and to provide for those added to the schedule to be issued with Crown grants.

In Otago, several places were designated as 'half-caste' land: Hawksbury, North Harbour and Blueskin, Clarendon situated on the south side of Taieri River, and Moeraki. The majority of these land grants were however situated in Southland, where the mixed descent population was concentrated, at Longwood, Paterson's Inlet, Anglem, Jacob's River Hundred, Pourakino, the Invercargill Hundred, Fortrose Town and the Otara District. Many of these lands were located near native reserves, resulting in the demarcation of separate but adjoining spaces. This situation is clearly reflected at Moeraki, where Mackay's "preference for Block I Moeraki is on acct. of sec 23 being adjacent to the Native Reserve."⁴⁹⁵ Implicit in this solution was a move to create communities based on mixed descent that were separate from Kāi Tahu settlements. Spatially, these 'half-caste' communities were to adjoin but be apart from native reserves. They symbolically served to reinforce differences of 'blood' and parentage between 'native' and 'half-caste.'

This separation of Kāi Tahu into distinct communities on the basis of descent was not a pattern new to British colonization. Kenneth Ballhatchet, in an examination of the links between 'race', gender and class in colonial India, has argued that intermarriage threatened the social distance between the colonizer and colonized and was thus perceived to undermine colonial power and authority.⁴⁹⁶ In addition, Laura Gbah Bear suggests that the railway colonies established in India from the late 1850s acted as "artificial European enclaves designed to protect their residents" from the chaos of Indian spaces: in such enclaves gendered and 'raced' identities were contested and constructed.⁴⁹⁷ Thus, the preservation of colonial power was predicated on the maintenance of social distance, represented by the development of distinct

⁴⁹⁵ Letter to Mr. Lewis, 27/1/1881, MA/13 Box 19, 12[a], Part 1, (ANZ-W). *Ancillary Claims Report 1995*, p. 182.

⁴⁹⁶ Kenneth Ballhatchet, *Race, Sex and Class Under the Raj: Imperial Attitudes and Policies and their Critics, 1793-1905*, (London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1980).

⁴⁹⁷ Laura Gbah Bear, "Miscegenations of Modernity: constructing European respectability and race in the Indian railway colony, 1857-1931," *Women's History Review*, 3, 4, 1994, pp. 531-548.

living spaces within a given territory. In the case of the British in India, civil stations representing order and civilized life were established next to Indian towns, which by contrast were seen to exemplify the mysterious and threatening in the very chaotic nature of the streets and habitations.⁴⁹⁸

A small group of ‘half-caste’ men and women at Maitapapa were provided with land under the Half-Caste Crown Land Grants Acts and this land was spatially distinct from the native reserve. At Taieri, the 100 acre Clarendon Block was reserved under the 1877 Act as ‘half-caste’ land for those Kāi Tahu residents in the area. Sections in the block, located on the south side of the river, were awarded to Elizabeth Crane, Robert Brown, Jack Connor, Sarah Palmer, Ann Williams, James Williams, Mary Kui, Ann Owen, Jenny Palmer and Hannah Palmer. Within several years the allocation of sections was the subject of complaint by its grantees. Tiaki Kona/Jack Connor wrote to his local MHR on their behalf in 1885 stating that “if we had got it [Clarendon] at the First we Would have some Benefit of it [sic].”⁴⁹⁹ The following year he sent a letter to the Native Department outlining the poor state of the land. Kona pointedly stated that “the halfcaste land Taieri the piece that Mr McKie blocked of for us is no good at all i wish we could have it in some other place [sic].”⁵⁰⁰ Kona’s statement is a reflection of the inferior nature of the initial awards of land. The 1883 Act allowed the granting of larger sections to individuals within their original blocks listed under the 1877 Act in recognition that all the original lands granted were of ‘inferior quality’ and ‘not sufficient for their support.’⁵⁰¹

The Middle Island Half-Caste Grants Act 1885 was designed to remedy errors and omissions made under the 1877 and 1883 Acts. Such errors and omissions indicate the difficulty that the state had in defining or understanding the term ‘half-caste.’ Indeed, investigations and inquiries into the Middle Island ‘half-caste’ population reinforce the problematic nature of this population to state management.

⁴⁹⁸ Ballhatchet, p. 2.

⁴⁹⁹ John Connor to W. J. Stewart, 29/7/1885, MA/13, Box 20, 13[a], (ANZ-W).

⁵⁰⁰ John Connor to Native Department, 11/2/1886, MA/13, Box 21, 13[c], (ANZ-W).

⁵⁰¹ The Middle Island Half-Caste Crown Grants Act 1883, *New Zealand Statutes 1883*, p. 151.

The problems with issuing the Crown grants, it was claimed, were due to the difficulty of tracing the individuals concerned, evidence that the ‘half-caste’ did not consistently occupy either the Kāi Tahu or the settler world.⁵⁰² With special reference to Clarendon, the Chief Draughtsman claimed in 1885 that:

the Schedule of Titles for Halfcaste claims was commenced long since but could not be completed on account of the difficulty in identifying the names given in the Act with those furnished by the Surveyor arising probably from changing their names and marriage. There are two lists of the Clarendon claim sent in by the Surveyor at different times which do not agree with each other. The Surveyor Mr. Mackenzie is again instructed to take copies of these and ascertain which is correct.⁵⁰³

Only very few of the Clarendon claimants at Taieri had their sections surveyed or secured Certificates of Title, often because of the costs which they had to pay. These problems at Clarendon obviously continued, or there was little urgency attached to their remedy on the behalf of officials. In 1879, two years after the Clarendon land was set aside for award under the 1877 Act, Kona wrote to Mackay asking: “I wish you would try and get the ground I was speaking about for the children of the Tairei [sic].”⁵⁰⁴ Robert Brown requested as late as 1893 that the Crown grants for the land awarded to him and his wife Jane at Clarendon be issued.⁵⁰⁵ When the owners agreed to the sale of the Clarendon Block in the 1950s for scenic purposes, it was discovered that only five of the eleven owners had been granted title.⁵⁰⁶

The last act of this series was passed in 1888 after a government commission two years earlier which inquired into the cases of those excluded from the provisions of previous legislation in 1877, 1883 and 1885.⁵⁰⁷ Taken together these acts seem to represent a great deal of activity in regards to providing for the ‘half-caste’ population in the South Island, but the nature of parliamentary discussion of this legislation

⁵⁰² *NZPD*, Vol. 64, 1889, p. 160.

⁵⁰³ Chief Draughtsman to the Commissioner of Crown Lands, 18/8/1885, MA/13, Box 19, 12[a], Part 1, (ANZ-W).

⁵⁰⁴ John Connor to Alexander Mackay, 7/1/1879, MA-MT/6/15, (ANZ-W).

⁵⁰⁵ Robert Brown to Native Minister, 8/5/1893, MA 1/1892/2250, (ANZ-W).

⁵⁰⁶ Memo Department of Lands and Survey to Maori Affairs Department, 7/12/1951, MA/1/78 5/5/89, (ANZ-W). *Ancillary Claims Report 1995*, p. 219.

⁵⁰⁷ The Middle Island Half-Caste Crown Grants Act, 1888, *New Zealand Statutes 1888*, p. 236.

undermines this view. The lapse of five years between the passage of the 1877 Act and that of the 1883 Act suggests there was little urgency attached by officials to the fulfilment of promises of land for 'half-caste' families. The slow progress achieved in fulfilling the grants made under these acts is a reflection of the wider government lethargy in fulfilling promises made to Kāi Tahu in respect of land purchases by the Crown between 1844 and 1864, as outlined in the report of the Smith-Nairn Commission of 1879-80 and the 1886 Report of the Royal Commission into Middle Island Claims under Alexander Mackay.

Conclusion

During the decades from the 1850s to the 1880s, the mixed descent women of Maitapapa married single male settlers who had arrived in Otago as part of a new wave of organized settlement. These men settled in the Taieri region to engage in the building of the colonial economy. They came as pit sawyers in the 1850s when timber was in demand or as miners in the gold rush era of the 1860s. Many later became small landholders but they were rarely owners of large estates. Particular marriage patterns were evident. First, intermarriage at Maitapapa continued to be predominantly gendered female. Second, all 27 marriages took place under legal custom with its associated requirements of a ceremony performed by a minister in a church or private home, and all were registered on the general index. Third, ethnically all who married 'out' in this period were of mixed descent. Of the nineteen women who married between 1850 and 1889, nine were 'half-caste' and ten were 'quarter caste' while six men of 'quarter-caste' status and two 'half-caste' men also married during this period.

The most significant impact of intermarriage was felt in two ways. First, intermarriage at lower Taieri were mainly patrilocal and had a gendered impact on the population structure contributing to altered settlement patterns and depopulation in the loss of some women through outward migration and assimilation into local river settlements. Second, census statistics show a growing population at the reserve

predominantly comprised of people of mixed descent. Thus, intermarriage patterns were of two types during the period between the 1850s and 1880s and had an assimilatory mechanism. First, intermarriage involved marrying 'in' Pākehā men to the community which produced a largely mixed descent population. Second, intermarriage also involved marrying 'out' from the 1870s as women left the community and settled on the margins of the Native reserve. The assimilatory function of intermarriage was furthered by the establishment of a school at Taieri Ferry that taught both settler and kāika children. Here, the mixed descent children were taught English and assimilated to British cultural values and ideals. It was by these standards, such as language, clothing and hygiene, that school inspectors measured the success of the school as a tool of assimilation. At the same time, in the 1870s and 1880s, the state became increasingly concerned with the growing 'half-caste' population in the South Island and made provision for land grants under the Half-Caste Crown Land Grants Acts between 1877 and 1888. This concern however, was partially prompted by the inability of Kāi Tahu to accommodate those of mixed descent on inadequate reserve land. In reality many Pākehā men, the husbands of mixed descent women at Taieri, were occupying and cultivating reserve land. Thus, Kāi Tahu and Pākehā transgressed boundaries through intermarriage and in the development of a mixed descent population disrupted not only traditional systems of land rights but also the imposed system of reserves.

5

RECOVERIES

Introduction

As Chapter Four revealed, by the end of the 1880s the population at Maitapapa was growing and was predominantly of mixed descent. This demographic growth is reflected in the 1891 Census of Kāi Tahu Settlements. Using this census as a source, this chapter charts the demographic recovery of Kāi Tahu. By the end of the nineteenth century, greater immunity to disease resulted in a high birth rate and low mortality amongst Māori generally. Inter-marriage also played a part in this recovery with the mixed descent population becoming a key part of Kāi Tahu's demographic by the end of the nineteenth century. The first section of this chapter discusses the role of the national census as a measurement of assimilation in New Zealand. It looks at the role of the census enumerator in Māori communities and situates this group as active agents in the formation of official representations of the 'half-caste'. It also discusses scientific and popular understandings of the 'half-caste' in colonial New Zealand and internationally, and examines the centrality of the census enumerators and census reports to constructing and reinforcing scientific and popular ideas about 'race' and hybridity. The second section of the chapter moves to investigate the 1891 census of Kāi Tahu settlements. This census enables not only the ethnic composition of each Kāi Tahu settlement to be investigated but also allows the regional nature and differential impact of inter-marriage on the composition of each community to be examined. More specifically, this investigation into the development of the mixed descent population amongst Kāi Tahu allows the experience of inter-marriage at Taieri to be placed into a wider demographic context and the nature of the kākā population by 1891 to be interrogated. Finally, in the terms used to describe those of mixed

descent, the 1891 census offers an opportunity to investigate official definitions of 'Maori', 'half-caste' and 'quarter-caste.' State definitions employed to describe those of mixed descent are applied to the raw data in the 1891 census lists in order to examine the ways in which those of dual ancestry were defined in late nineteenth century New Zealand. Under census and native lands legislation a 'quarter-caste' was defined as 'European' but the inclusion of this group in the 1891 census illustrates that definitions of who was Māori and who was not varied between government officials and Kāi Tahu.

Health and Demography

Indigenous bodies "have been central players in the drama of colonization" characterized by depopulation, poor physical health and poor living conditions.⁵⁰⁸ According to Mary-Ellen Kelm, the notion of population loss and eventual disappearance dominates colonial musings on indigenous peoples and is a persistent trope "in the fantasies of contact."⁵⁰⁹ In the late nineteenth century colonial scientists sought to understand the phenomenon of the 'dying race' by placing indigenous bodies under greater surveillance where contemporary scientific theories about the body, particularly degenerating bodies, was expanding. According to Young's model of 'colonial desire', dwelling on health and disease underpinned the colonial fascination with interracial sex as well as an anxiety about possible threats to empire, in the form of physical degeneration, which the offspring of such unions embodied. As illustrated in Chapter Four, this characteristic anxiety surrounding the 'half-caste' can be identified in official and social commentary in New Zealand from 1856. One of the first commentators on the link between interracial sex, bodily health and amalgamation in colonial New Zealand was Dr. Arthur Thomson. In his report on the 'State of the Natives' to Governor Gore Browne in 1856, Thomson stated:

⁵⁰⁸ Mary-Ellen Kelm, *Colonizing Bodies: Aboriginal Health and Healing in British Columbia, 1900-50*, (Vancouver, UBC Press, 2001 edition), p. xv.

⁵⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

It would be a grave omission in this memoir not to state that important and beneficial results most ultimately accrue to health and civilization by the amalgamation now going on between the settlers and the New Zealanders. It is already estimated that upwards of one thousand of the native population have Anglo-Saxon blood in their veins. A large proportion of these half-castes are New Zealanders in language and manners; they are highly intelligent, and singularly free from scrofula – the diseased taint in the Maori blood.⁵¹⁰

This report was published at the same time as his book, *The Story of New Zealand*, which argued that the ‘amalgamation’ of the races was the solution to degeneration and general ill-health of the Māori population. Thomson’s proof was that the unions between Māori women and European men were fertile and that their children were ‘singularly healthy’ and in general, free of disease.⁵¹¹

New Zealand census reports also highlighted the particular concerns of Pākehā officials with regard to Māori health and demography. As a result, the spaces Māori inhabited came under increased scrutiny. This concern with Māori health was closely linked to arguments over population decline. Raeburn Lange has illustrated that over the late nineteenth century and into the twentieth century numerous scientists and social commentators in New Zealand pointed to Māori population decline, positioning the disappearance of the indigenous population as an inevitable outcome of culture contact. This discussion of the ‘half-caste’ population in New Zealand was harnessed to a myriad of racial theories of perceived Māori depopulation. Over the second half of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century, officials and social commentators such as William Fox, Arthur Thomson, Francis Dart Fenton, Alfred Newman and Walter Buller, informed by census enumerators and Victorian theories of racial ideology, espoused the belief that Māori were a ‘dying race’. This view was widely held despite census figures from the 1880s and 1890s suggesting the beginning of a national demographic recovery.⁵¹²

⁵¹⁰ Dr. Thomson to Governor Gore-Browne, 9/12/1856, *GBPP*, Vol. 11, 1860, pp. 419-420.

⁵¹¹ Arthur S. Thomson, *The Story of New Zealand Past and Present – Savage and Civilized, Volume II*, (London, John Murray, 1859), p. 290.

⁵¹² Raeburn Lange, *May the People Live: A History of Maori Health Development 1900-1920*, (Auckland, Auckland University Press, 1999), p. 54.

There were many contradictory points of view on the health of the ‘half-caste’. Victorian racial science about the origins of the races centred on polygenism and monogenism both of which influenced official, scientific, intellectual and popular thought about the ‘half-caste’ in late nineteenth century New Zealand and elsewhere. Polygenists believed in the separate origins of the races, in permanent racial differences and that the results of the ‘crossing of the races’ would produce infertile hybrids, which would result in racial degeneration.⁵¹³ By contrast, monogenists believed in a single origin of the races, in the unity of humanity and the fertility of the hybrid body. These racial discourses played out in colonial New Zealand. Some commentators envisioned intermarriage and amalgamation as threatening the health of the Māori population, perceiving the ‘half-caste’ body as one that underwent inevitable degeneration. In a much cited 1882 paper published in *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute*, Alfred Newman, doctor and President of the Wellington Philosophical Society, contested the argument that intermarriage, as a model of amalgamation, could save Māori. According to Newman, while ‘half-castes’ exhibited broad shoulders and were handsome, this was outweighed by the fact that they had shallow chests, that they died young, and were thus a ‘feeble race’ that was heading for extinction at a faster rate than Māori.⁵¹⁴ Drawing on missionary rhetoric and monogenist racial thought, some New Zealand commentators such as Thomson saw intermarriage between Māori and Pākehā as offering a way for Māori to remain a part of the New Zealand population. By the late nineteenth century, to officials and social commentators, the mixed descent population was truly hybrid. It was claimed to be the cause both of depopulation as well as the saviour of the Māori ‘race’, whereby Māori would remain on the New Zealand political, social and cultural landscape, but as a remnant of a once ‘noble race.’ In this sense, the healthy ‘half-caste’ inverted the

⁵¹³ Melissa Nobles, “Racial categorization and censuses,” in David I. Kertzer and Dominique Arel (eds.) *Census and Identity: The Politics of Race, Ethnicity and Language in National Censuses*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 51.

⁵¹⁴ John Stenhouse, “‘A disappearing race before we came here’: Doctor Alfred Kingcombe Newman, the Dying Maori and Victorian Scientific Racism,” *New Zealand Journal of History*, 30, 2, 1996, pp. 124-126.

arguments of proponents of the ‘dying race’ theory, proving that the ‘half-caste’ was indeed a ‘tension of empire.’

Census reports were one of the key sites in which official views about ‘race’ were expressed. Melissa Nobles argues that the national census, both in the United States and in Brazil, reflected, reinforced and contributed to “the formation and perpetuation of racial politics.”⁵¹⁵ In the nineteenth century and early twentieth century the national census was a racially informed document, and the census enumerators were active participants in the formation of racial ideas, the construction of racial categories and the definition of ethnic identities. The racial classifications that were employed in a national census often changed over time, reflecting not only a changed demographic but also the interests of racial science. In the United States, for instance, the category “mulatto” was introduced in the 1850 census at a time when social scientists sought to provide evidence for the theory of polygenism.⁵¹⁶ In 1890, the terms ‘quadroon’ and ‘octoroon’ were added to the national census in the United States alongside the categories of White, Black, Chinese, Japanese and Indian. These regimented ‘blood quantum’ categories were removed in 1930 in favour of the ‘one-drop rule’, in which anyone with ‘black blood’ was legally defined as black.⁵¹⁷ In Brazil physical appearance or colour, rather than racial origins, was counted in the national census.⁵¹⁸ Nancy Leys Stepan states that the elites and intelligentsia of Brazil favoured “constructive miscegenation”, in which bodies and by extension the nation would gradually ‘whiten.’⁵¹⁹ Instead of an association between degeneration and hybrid bodies, Brazilians looked to intermarriage or miscegenation as a source of racial strength, arguing that through miscegenation the ‘European’ body could survive

⁵¹⁵ Nobles, p. 43. Also see Maria P. P. Root (ed.) *The Multiracial Experience: Racial Borders as the New Frontier*, (California, Sage, 1996) and Naomi Zack (ed.) *American Mixed Race: The Culture of Microdiversity*, (Maryland, Rowman and Littlefield, 1995), both of which include a range of essays that deal with the question of scientific racial thought and official racial categories in the United States and elsewhere.

⁵¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

⁵¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

⁵¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

⁵¹⁹ Nancy Leys Stepan, *“The Hour of Eugenics”: Race, Gender and Nation in Latin America*, (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1991), pp. 145-147.

in the tropical climate. The success of ‘constructive miscegenation’ was reported on in the Brazilian national census.

In New Zealand, the reports of enumerators on the Māori and mixed descent population were key points from which to gauge the success of intermarriage as a tool of assimilation. As in the United States and Brazil, the New Zealand national census reported on the ‘racial’ composition of the population. From the 1870s, New Zealand’s general census included a question on ‘race’, concentrating mostly on the Chinese population, and the ethnic origins of settlers.⁵²⁰ The first national census of the Māori population was undertaken in 1874, although regional censuses had been taken prior to this date. This census set the pattern for the enumeration of the Māori population. It was held separately to the general population and was not comprehensive, preferring estimates over precision. The census was carried out by sub-enumerators appointed by the census enumerator of a given district. In many cases, the sub-enumerators of the Māori census tended to be resident magistrates or Inspectors in the Armed Constabulary, such as Inspector Pender in Christchurch, Inspector Broham in Timaru, and Inspector Welden in Dunedin during the 1886 census.⁵²¹ Kate Riddell notes that by the late nineteenth century there were an unknown number of Māori enumerators providing information on the Māori population to officials.⁵²² These men wrote reports on their district to the Native Department, based on the work of their appointed sub-enumerators, which were published every census year in the *Appendices to the Journal of the House of Representatives (AJHR)*. The content of these reports were framed by the general instructions issued to the enumerators by the Statistician-General. In general, these instructions asked for comments on the state and welfare of the population, age and numbers of the population, and to note any increase or decrease in ‘half-castes’ and

⁵²⁰ David C. Thorns and Charles P. Sedgwick, *Understanding Aotearoa/New Zealand: Historical Statistics*, (Palmerston North, Dunmore Press, 1997), p. 28.

⁵²¹ See *AJHR*, G-12, 1886, pp. 13-15.

⁵²² Kate Riddell, “‘Improving’ the Maori: Counting the Ideology of Intermarriage,” *New Zealand Journal of History*, 34, 1, 2000, p. 88.

whether they were ‘living as Maori’ or ‘living as European’.⁵²³ However, as Riddell states, these men found it difficult to define who was ‘half-caste’. Given the nature of enumeration, based as it was on local knowledge and the absence of clear definitions on blood mixture, the decision to include a person as ‘half-caste’ was often based on living conditions and visual appearance.⁵²⁴

It was in national census reports and in the separate Māori census that official views on the health of the Māori population and that of the ‘half-caste’ was articulated. It was only from the late nineteenth century “that much weight was attached by Crown policy-makers to the numbers of ‘half-castes’ . . . [and] around that same time that ‘half-castes’ were increasingly described as the only healthy section of Maori society.”⁵²⁵ In census reports the ‘half-caste’ population was considered to represent the healthy section of the Māori population. In his 1896 census report, Aylmer Kenny reported on the state of the Māori population in the Marlborough district. Kenny believed, on the basis of his survey of the indigenous population in the northern South Island, that the children of ‘half-castes’ “are as numerous and as healthy as in the cases where one of the parents is full-blooded either Pakeha or Maori.”⁵²⁶ By the early twentieth century, in recognition of the centrality of health and sanitation to demographic growth, every census report included remarks upon the general welfare of Māori, their current state of health and their living conditions.⁵²⁷ In short, intermarriage was perceived to be a tool by policymakers to halt Māori population decline, and thus, could provide a solution to ‘racial

⁵²³ Ibid., 2000, p. 84.

⁵²⁴ The term caste is Spanish in origin and was applied in the Spanish-American colonies to classify persons of mixed descent. The term ‘half-caste’ was applied by officials during the British occupation of India to those of mixed European and Muslim or Hindu descent. Eventually the term spread to settler societies such as New Zealand and Australia. Ellis Cashmore, *Dictionary of Race and Ethnic Relations*, (London, Routledge, 1984, 1996 edition), p. 67.

⁵²⁵ Kate Riddell, “A ‘Marriage’ of the Races? Aspects of Intermarriage, Ideology and Reproduction on the New Zealand Frontier,” (MA, Victoria University, 1996), p. 96.

⁵²⁶ Aylmer Kenny, 14/3/1896, *AJHR*, H-13b, 1896, p. 11.

⁵²⁷ See Lange; Derek Dow, *Maori Health and Government Policy, 1840-1940*, (Wellington, Victoria University Press/Historical Branch, 1999), and Geoffrey W. Rice, “Maori Health and Heaton Rhodes as Minister of Public Health, 1912-1915,” *New Zealand Journal of History*, 35, 2, 2001, pp. 204-220.

degeneration' through the 'fusion of new blood', that had been suggested as early as 1856 by Thomson.

Numerous officials saw amalgamation, or physical and cultural absorption, as the avenue by which Māori could survive into the twentieth century. As early as 1901 the census report reported upon the fate of the Māori 'race', clearly linking the future place of Māori in New Zealand to physical and cultural hybridity. The report stated:

Their ultimate destiny must remain a matter of speculation. The pessimist sees a remnant of beggars wandering over the land their ancestors once possessed, while the optimist looks forward to a complete fusion of the two races.⁵²⁸

In the first half of the twentieth century assimilation was the predominant racial policy in New Zealand, and its success was perceived in the form of intermarriage and the production of the embodied hybrid.⁵²⁹ By 1916, the Minister for Native Affairs, William Herries stated that the "policy of the Government has been to encourage the blending of the two races."⁵³⁰ The result, stated one commentator, was that "they [Māori] will become extinct, but not in the sense of dying out, but by reason of amalgamation with our people."⁵³¹ Therefore, it is not surprising that 'half-castes' became the central platform of the government drive towards assimilation, exemplified in the way officials made much of the 'inevitable' growth and 'superior' health of the 'half-caste'.⁵³² In short, the 'half-caste' could further the drive towards the wider cultural assimilation and 'Europeanisation' of the Māori population through their ability to mediate between two cultures. While intermarriage allowed Māori to survive in a hybrid form, it nevertheless meant that the ultimate fate of Māori was to be absorbed, physically and culturally, into British culture and institutions.

⁵²⁸ 'Census of the Maori population,' *AJHR*, H-26b, 1901, p. 3.

⁵²⁹ M. P. K. Sorrenson, *Maori and European since 1870: A Study in Adaptation and Adjustment*, (Auckland, Heinemann Educational Books, 1967), p. viii.

⁵³⁰ M. P. K. Sorrenson, *Integration or Identity? Cultural Interaction: New Zealand since 1911*, (Auckland, Heinemann, 1977), p. 14.

⁵³¹ Cited in Angela Ballara, *Proud to be White? A Survey of Pakeha Prejudice in New Zealand*, (Auckland, Heinemann, 1986), p. 88.

⁵³² Riddell, 1996, p. 8.

The increased desirability of the ‘half-caste’ in late nineteenth and early twentieth century New Zealand by policymakers and officials, as represented in the census reports, was reinforced by the creation of Aryan origins for Māori by ethnographers, scientists, and social commentators. Māori origins were variously found in Israel, India, Iran, and Scandinavia by the missionary Richard Taylor, and by Edward Tregear, and the ethnographers and writers, Elsdon Best, and James Cowan.⁵³³ As Sorrenson argues, the explanation as to why Māori were favourably regarded in the early twentieth century, in a period when racist sentiment was apparent at a popular level and more generally in the colonies of the Victorian era, lies in skin colour and the Europeanization of Māori features: both of which were associated with the popular myth of Aryan ancestry.⁵³⁴ The creation of white origins for Māori was designed to make them a fitter prospect for amalgamation and thus a more desirable target for physical absorption in the form of intermarriage. In short, by the late nineteenth century the ‘half-caste’ became a celebrated, desired and attractive citizen of New Zealand seen in the construction of those of mixed descent, physically and culturally, as dark whites or brown New Zealanders.

1891 Census of Kāi Tahu Settlements

A remarkable census of Kāi Tahu was carried out in 1891 and published the following year. The census was taken during the Middle Island Native Land Claims Commission of 1891 presided over by Alexander Mackay who visited all major Kāi Tahu settlements and was published in the *AJHR*. The census provided a 30 page list of Kāi Tahu by settlement. In this list, every Kāi Tahu person was enumerated: they were numbered, named, gendered, aged, and given an ethnic status.⁵³⁵ Mackay stated that the return included “all persons of the Native race and its descendants, residing

⁵³³ K. R. Howe, *The Quest for Origins: Who First Discovered and Settled New Zealand and the Pacific Islands*, (Auckland, Penguin, 2003). Angela Wanhalla, “Maori Women in Waka Traditions,” in Lyndon Fraser and Katie Pickles (eds.) *Shifting Centres: Women and Migration in New Zealand History*, (Dunedin, Otago University Press, 2002), p. 18.

⁵³⁴ M. P. K. Sorrenson, *Maori Origins and Migrations: the genesis of some Pakeha myths and legends*, (Auckland, Auckland University Press, 1990).

⁵³⁵ See *AJHR*, G-1, 1892.

either at the settlements ... or in the adjacent localities, whose parents or relatives belong to such settlements.”⁵³⁶ Mackay was critical of the recently returned native census, as he claimed it did not “exhibit all the population, inclusive of persons descended from Natives.”⁵³⁷ The terms employed to denote ethnicity such as ‘three-quarter caste’, ‘half-caste’, ‘quarter-caste’ and ‘one-eighth caste’ were the first time that such precise ‘blood’ categories were employed in a census in New Zealand. Given the long history of intermarriage in the South Island, the 1891 census provided the perfect opportunity to employ a graduated ‘blood system’ to classify the population and thus to measure the extent of assimilation. This official preoccupation with ‘blood’ distinctions reflected in the 1891 Census of Kāi Tahu settlements paradoxically enables the ethnic composition of various communities to be charted today. The categorizations employed in the census invites an opportunity to examine the impact of intermarriage on one iwi, to chart different understandings of descent and ethnicity, and to interrogate the late nineteenth century usage of ‘blood quantum’ to chart assimilation. Thus, the graphs and tables in this chapter have been compiled from the raw data and ‘racial’ categories listed in the 1891 census.

The significance of the 1891 census lies in its reasons for being undertaken and the manner in which it was conducted. Methodologically, the lists of names and ages were supplied by the leaders of each kāika to Mackay. At Henley he “requested the parties to furnish a list of names of the present residents” which was not read out at Henley but handed in at a later sitting of the Commission at Kaiapoi.⁵³⁸ These communities can be understood as self-identifying as Kāi Tahu, based on residence and tribal participation, not only parentage. The importance of the list also lies in the way in which these communities and their leaders have, by 1891, included ‘half-castes’ and others of mixed parentage within the framework of Kāi Tahu identity. Although it is unclear in the source whether Mackay supplied the ‘blood’ categories or whether such distinctions were employed by the kāika leadership, the census list

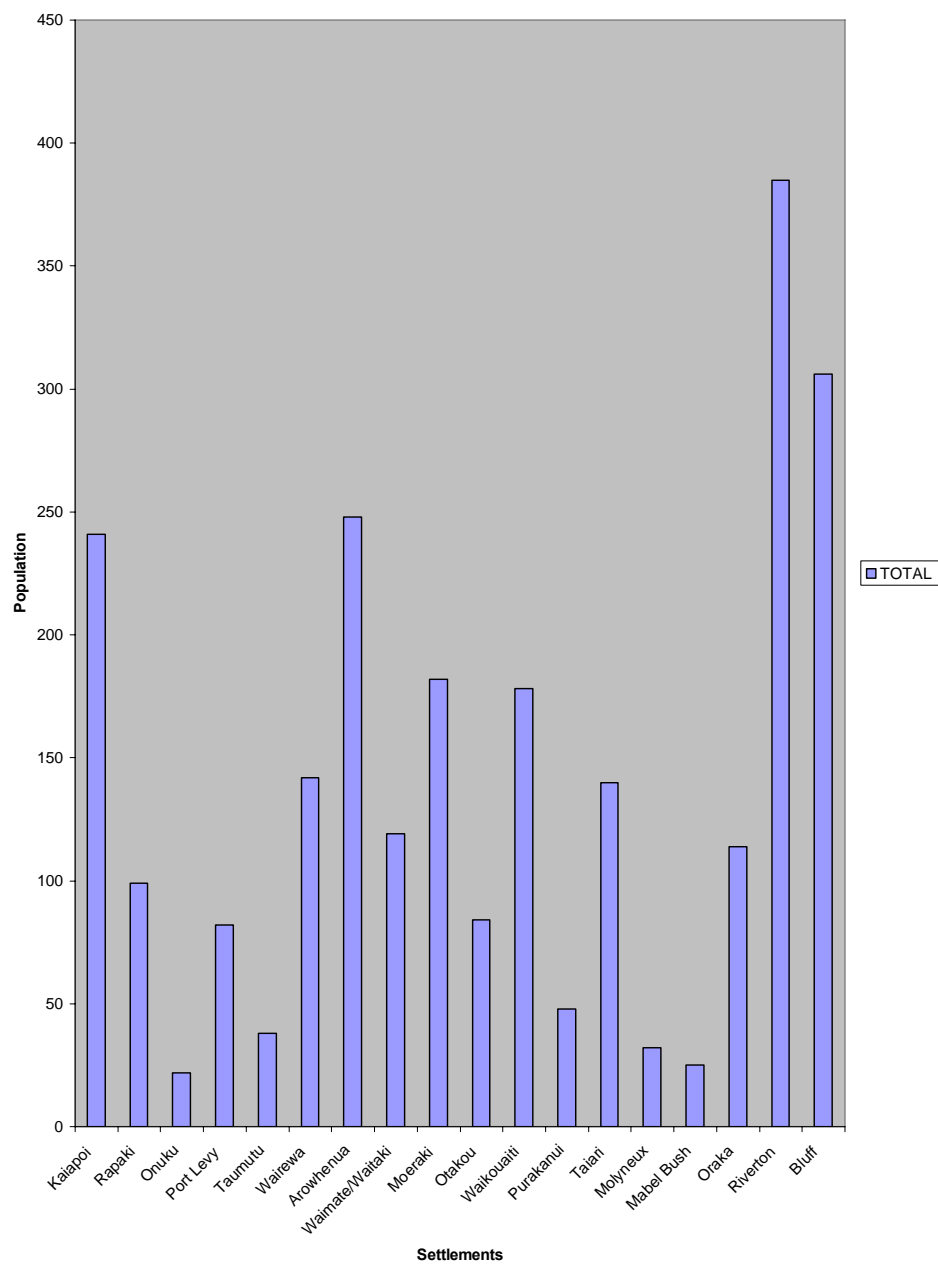
⁵³⁶ *AJHR*, G-7a, 1891, p. 7.

⁵³⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵³⁸ *AJHR*, G-7, 1891, pp. 36 and 55

does show that Kāi Tahu had accommodated the mixed descent population within their communities. Many of these communities were in fact numerically dominated by such individuals, and a number had ‘half-caste’ leaders. Thus Kāi Tahu had entered a new phase in which conflict had given way to accommodation of the mixed descent population.

Graph 2: Kai Tahu Census, 1891

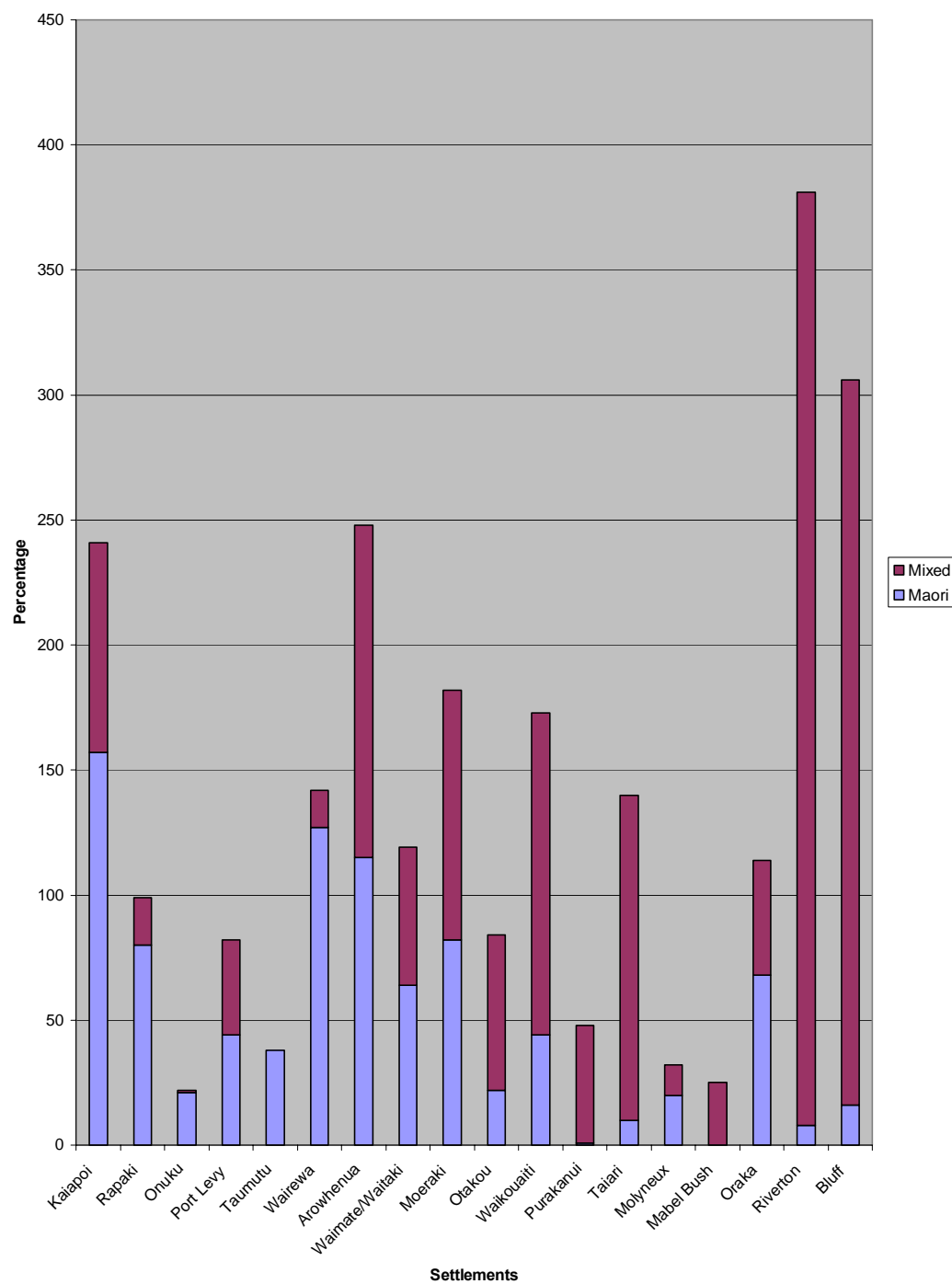


Source: Graph compiled from raw data in *AJHR*, G-1, 1892.

The overall population of eighteen kāika in are represented in Graph Two, which was compiled from the raw data listed in the 1891 census of Kāi Tahu settlements. In terms of population size, the census reveals an explosion of the Kāi Tahu population in response to the achievement of immunity to introduced disease by the end of the nineteenth century. A comparison of the settlements shows that Taieri (140) was a middle-range settlement in terms of population concentration. It was the third largest population centre of this period in the Otago district behind Moeraki (182) and Waikouaiti (181). In Canterbury, it was clear that the largest population centres were Arowhenua (248), Kaiapoi (241) and Wairewa (142), while in Murihiku the largest centres were Riverton (385) and the Bluff region, which included Ruapuke and Stewart Island in its boundaries (306).

There were clear regional differences in ethnic composition amongst the Kāi Tahu population. This can be seen Graph Three compiled from the data in Table Seven. In Graph Three and Table Seven, I have compiled the mixed population based on the graduated 'blood quantum' system of classification that was employed in the 1891 census lists. In these lists a differentiation was made between 'three-quarter-castes', 'half-castes' and 'quarter-castes'. Even though, as will be illustrated later in the chapter, those of 'half-caste' 'blood' or more were defined as Māori in census and native land legislation, Graph Three illustrates the extent to which the Kāi Tahu population was in fact of mixed descent. The ethnic composition of Kaiapoi, the second largest settlement with a population of 241, was dominated by Māori and characterized by marriages between Māori and 'half-castes'. Few marriages between 'half-castes' and Pākehā suggest a degree of isolation from the local Pākehā community and a degree of Māori control over the process of marriage. Similar trends took place at other Kāi Tahu settlements located in Canterbury. Rapaki, like Kaiapoi, was a community dominated by Māori as was Port Levy, another Banks Peninsula settlement. The final peninsula settlements listed in Mackay's census were Opukutahi and Onuku, with a total population of 22, both ethnically Māori settlements.

Graph 3: Kai Tahu Mixed Population, 1891



Source: Graph compiled from raw data in *AJHR*, G-1, 1892.

Table 7: Kāi Tahu Mixed Descent Population, 1891

Settlement	Maori	Mixed	Total
Kaiapoi	157	84	241
Rapaki	80	19	99
Onuku	21	1	22
Port Levy	44	38	82
Taumutu	38		38
Wairewa	127	15	142
Arowhenua	115	133	248
Waimate/Waitaki	64	55	119
Moeraki	82	100	182
Otakou	22	62	84
Waikouaiti	44	129	181
Purakanui	1	47	48
Taiari	10	130	140
Molyneux	20	12	30
Mabel Bush		25	25
Oraka	68	46	114
Riverton	8	373	386
Bluff	16	290	306

Source: Table compiled from raw data in *AJHR*, G-1, 1892.

Located south of Banks Peninsula were the settlements of Taumutu and Wairewa, as well as Arowhenua in South Canterbury. According to Mackay's census, Taumutu was the only Canterbury settlement populated wholly by Māori, suggesting that intermarriage was a foreign experience to this community. Nearby was the settlement of Wairewa or Little River, with a mid-range population of 142, was dominated by 126 Māori. Likewise, the mixed descent population was also small, with one 'three-quarter-caste' male enumerated and fourteen 'half-castes' resident at Wairewa. The largest Kāi Tahu settlement in Canterbury during the early 1890s was Arowhenua, in South Canterbury with a population of 248. Arowhenua was predominately Māori but unlike other Kāi Tahu settlements in Canterbury, Arowhenua had a substantial mixed descent population, a reflection of its whaling past. With a population of 70, 'half-castes' were the largest mixed descent group resident at Arowhenua, while the resident 'quarter-castes' reflected a small degree of intermarriage between 'half-castes' and Pākehā taking place in south Canterbury.

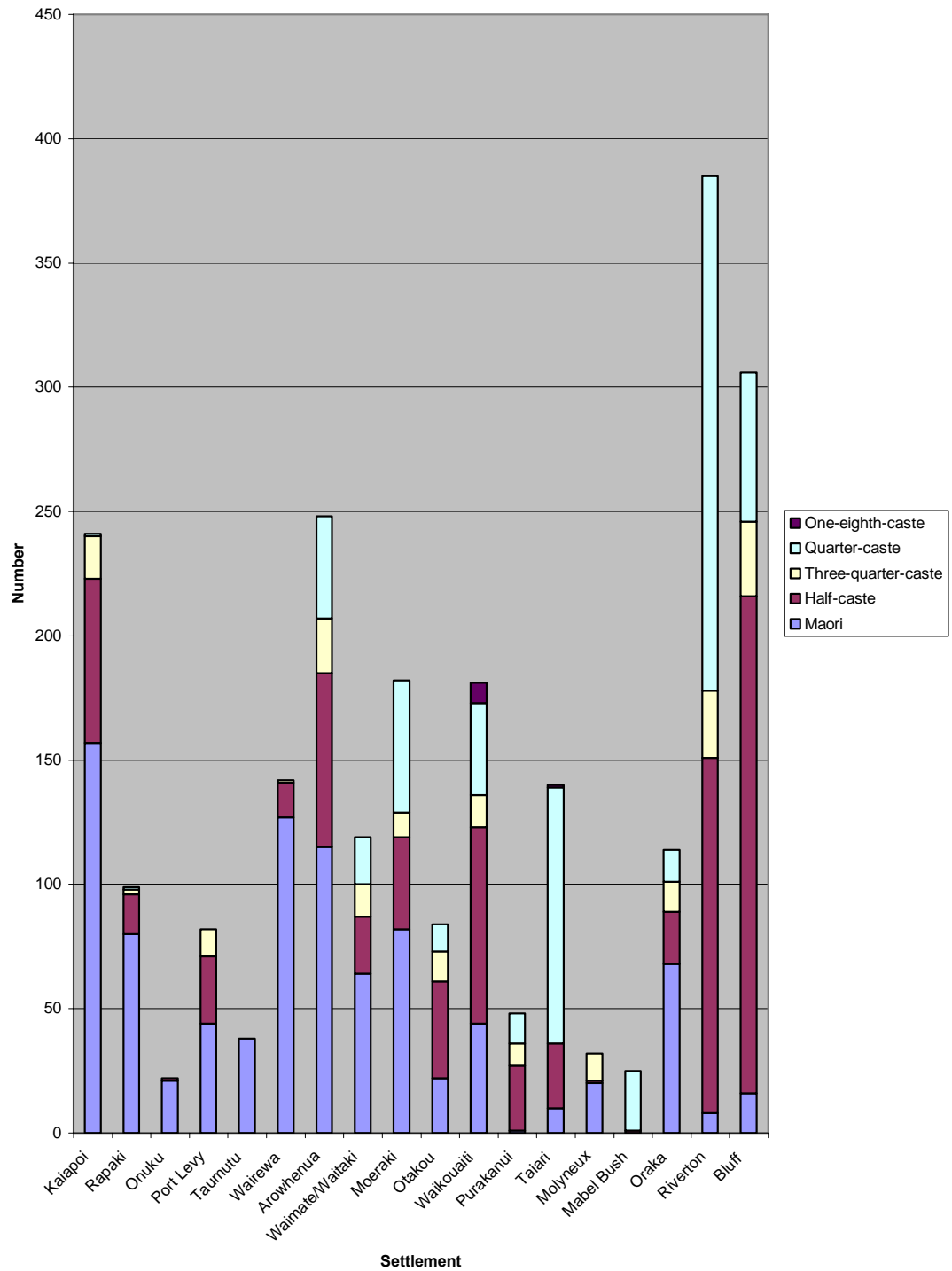
Arowhenua also had a small group of 22 ‘three-quarter-castes’ reflecting marriages between Māori and ‘half-caste’ at this settlement. In short, the 1891 census illustrates that the Kāi Tahu settlements at Canterbury were ethnically and demographically Māori. Only Rapaki and Arowhenua had relatively large mixed populations. In this sense, these last two settlements were very similar to those situated in Otago which had close ties to whaling stations.

Canterbury Kāi Tahu settlements, as previously noted, were demographically dominated by Māori and by extension so was the leadership in each community. The Otago settlements, apart from Moeraki which has an evenly distributed Māori and mixed descent population, reveal a predominance of the mixed population over Māori. Other settlements such as Purakanui and Taieri are shown to be almost wholly constituted by those of mixed descent, making them more demographically similar to the settlements located in Murihiku. Further discussion of the significant differences between Taieri and other Otago settlements and its demographic similarity to Murihiku settlements is in the next section of the chapter on family formations at Taieri.

When the categories of ‘three-quarter-caste,’ ‘half-caste’ and ‘quarter-caste’ that constituted the mixed descent population in Graph Three are visualized in Graph Four, a further layer of regional differences become apparent. The Canterbury settlements remain dominated by the Māori population, while their mixed descent population shows a predominance of ‘three-quarter-castes’ in relation to the settlements of Otago. In short, the greater presence of ‘three-quarter-castes’ underpins the claim that intermarriage between Kāi Tahu and settler in Canterbury was not as predominant as the trend towards marrying ‘in’ ‘half-castes’ to Kāi Tahu communities in Otago. The further south one goes the greater the increase in the ‘half-caste’ and ‘quarter-caste’ population in each settlement. This is paralleled by a decrease in the ‘three-quarter-caste’ population, to the point that they are absent in a handful of settlements. The absence of this population in some communities suggests that the

trend towards marrying 'out' dominates over marrying 'in' to Kāi Tahu or mixed descent.

Graph 4: 'Racial' Composition of Kai Tahu, 1891



Source: Graph compiled from raw data in *AJHR*, G-1, 1892.

Table 8: Kāi Tahu ‘Racial’ Composition, 1891

Settlement	Māori	Half	Three-quarter	Quarter	One-eighth
Kaiapoi	157	66	17	1	
Rapaki	80	16	2	1	
Onuku	21	1			
Port Levy	44	27	11		
Taumutu	38				
Wairewa	127	14	1		
Arowhenua	115	70	22	41	
Waimate/Waitaki	64	23	13	19	
Moeraki	82	37	10	53	
Otakou	22	39	12	11	
Waikouaiti	44	79	13	37	8
Purakanui	1	26	9	12	
Taiari	10	26		103	1
Molyneux	20	1	11		
Mabel Bush		1		24	
Oraka	68	21	12	13	
Riverton	8	143	27	207	
Bluff	16	200	30	60	

Source: Table compiled from raw data in *AJHR*, G-1, 1892.

The Kāi Tahu North Otago settlements of Waihao, Waimate, and Waitaki were enumerated as one region in Mackay’s 1891 census. In numerical terms, the ‘half-caste’ and ‘quarter-caste’ population was very similar, suggesting that the ‘half-caste’ population had reached a plateau and was in fact marrying ‘out’ to local Pākehā, thereby producing a comparable ‘quarter-caste’ population, while a smaller number of ‘half-castes’ were also marrying ‘in’ to Kāi Tahu and producing a small ‘three-quarter caste’ population. The ethnic statistics at settlements located in Otago and Murihiku show that the majority experienced a combination of inward and outward marriage patterns.

Moeraki, also located in North Otago, has a long history of cultural interaction with its first whaling station established in 1836 under the management of John Hughes. In 1891, less than half of this population was designated as Māori. Indeed by this time, Moeraki was becoming a mixed descent community. At Moeraki, ‘quarter-castes’ were recorded as the largest category within the mixed descent population.

Further south were located a number of Kāi Tahu settlements with equally long-standing histories of cultural interaction. In the era of shore whaling stations and Johnny Jones, the settlement of Waikouaiti was one of the largest mixed communities in the Otago region. In 1891 Waikouaiti along with Moeraki, was the largest Kāi Tahu settlement in the Otago district, as defined by the boundaries of the Otago Purchase of 1844. Like Moeraki, Waikouaiti was predominantly a mixed descent community, but on a larger scale. However, unlike Moeraki, Waikouaiti was a community dominated by 'half-castes' and this was reflected in its leaders, Tame Parata and his wife Peti Brown.

The smallest Kāi Tahu community in Otago was located at Purakanui with a population of 48 and was virtually a mixed descent community. The traditional Kāi Tahu settlement of Otākou was situated on the Otago Peninsula; under the 1844 Otago Purchase it was exempted from purchase. In 1891, Otākou was predominantly a 'half-caste' settlement and thus in terms of the New Zealand census categories a Māori community. The final settlement situated within the Otago Purchase was located at Molyneux in South Otago. This settlement was populated by 32 individuals of Kāi Tahu descent. Unlike the settlements of Otago, especially Taieri, Molyneux's Māori population was larger than its mixed population.

The two largest Kāi Tahu settlements recorded in 1891 were located in the Murihiku region, with Riverton recorded as the largest settlement. Of this population, only eight Māori were identified. Unlike the Bluff region, 'half-castes' did not numerically dominate. Instead, it was the 'quarter-caste' population which constituted the largest 'blood' category at Riverton. This clearly reflects this settlement's long history of cultural interaction through intermarriage, and suggests that it was an ongoing process that included an increasing level of marriage between 'half-castes' and Pākehā.

The Kāi Tahu population resident at Bluff, Tutarau, Fortrose, Ruapuke and Stewart Island consisted of 306 residents in 1891. In the 1891 Census these settlements were enumerated as a region rather than as single kāika. In terms of

‘racial’ composition, the resident Kāi Tahu population was overwhelmingly of mixed descent in character. Indeed, this population conformed to the ethnic pattern of Kāi Tahu settlements in Murihiku where ‘quarter-castes’ rather than ‘half-castes’ predominate, as in the case of Otago. In Canterbury, ‘Māori’ constituted the largest group in the majority of settlements in this region.

In contrast to the 1891 census of Kāi Tahu settlements, contemporary official definitions of Māori contained in statutes was much broader. Native land legislation consistently defined ‘Native’ as including “all half-castes and their descendants by Natives.”⁵³⁹ The Native Land Act 1909 more clearly defined ‘Native’ as a person “belonging to the aboriginal race of New Zealand”, including those of ‘half-caste’ status and “a person intermediate in blood between half-castes and persons of pure descent from that race.”⁵⁴⁰ While native land legislation defined the ‘native’ population on the basis of ‘blood’, census legislation categorized the indigenous population on the basis of ‘blood quantum’ and place of residence. Under the Census Act 1877 and Statistics Act 1908 the term Māori was used in preference to ‘Native’ and included those persons of ‘half-caste’ status living as ‘Māori’ under that term. The Census and Statistics Act 1910 included ‘half-castes’ and ‘three-quarter-castes’ as part of the Māori population.⁵⁴¹

In contemporary legislation the definition of Māori constituted a person of 50 percent or more Māori ‘blood’. When this official definition is applied to the 1891 census the ethnic composition of most Kāi Tahu communities shifts from predominantly mixed descent to Māori. For instance, if the definitions of the native lands and census legislation were applied to the 1891 census data, then the Waikouaiti community would become a Māori population, as under this census category were included all those people of full and ‘half-caste’ status and those intermediate between

⁵³⁹ S. II Native Lands Act 1865, S. 3 Native Lands Act 1873, S. 3 Native Land Court Act 1880, S. 2 Native Lands Fraud Prevention Act 1881, S. 2 Native Land Laws Amendment Act 1883, S. 2 Native Land Alienation Restriction Act 1884, S. 3 Native Land Administration Act 1886, S. 3 Native Land Court Act 1886, S. 3 Native Land Act 1888, S. 20 Native Land Court Act 1886 Amendment Act 1888, S. 3 Native Land Administration Act 1900.

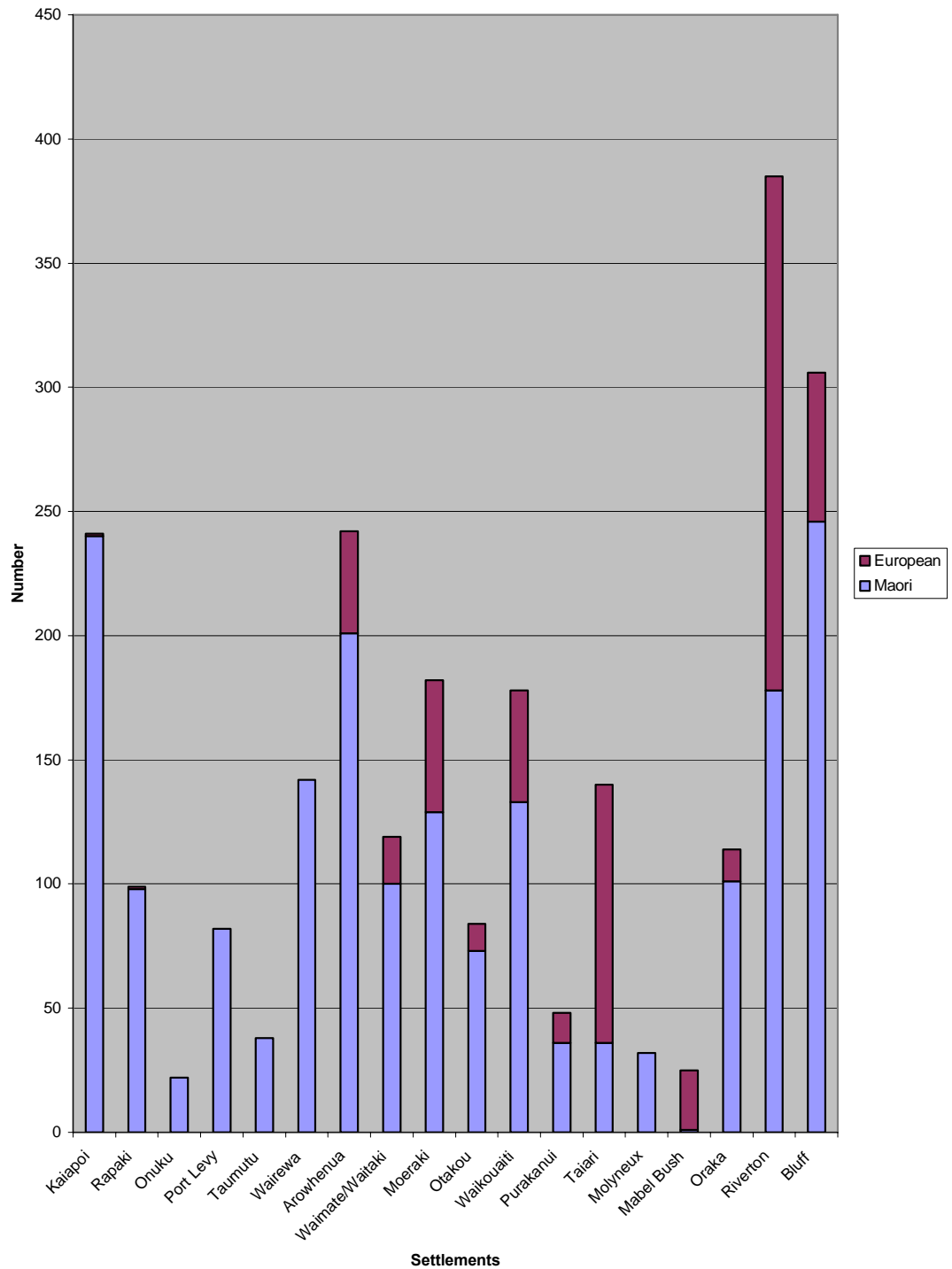
⁵⁴⁰ S. 2 Native Lands Act 1909.

⁵⁴¹ S. 3 Census Act 1877, S. 2 Statistics Act 1908, S. 2 Census and Statistics Act 1910.

these categories. Thus, the ‘three-quarter caste’ is included as Māori. Taking these definitions into account, Waikouaiti becomes a Māori community with a population of 136, with a mixed descent population of 29 persons. As this example reveals, categorization of the mixed descent and Māori population in the national census created an arbitrary separation within a community. The lists of names included in the 1891 census of Kāi Tahu settlements illustrates that understandings of who was included in a community was defined on broader grounds of participation rather than ethnicity alone.

The application of statutory definitions to the ‘racial’ categories listed in the 1891 Census transforms the largely mixed descent populations of Otago and Murihiku into ‘Māori’ communities. Graph Five charts the changes in ‘racial’ composition when the census definition of ‘Māori’ and ‘European’ is applied to the 1891 Census of Kāi Tahu Settlements. The ‘European’ population includes anyone of ‘quarter-caste’ descent or less and as Graph Five indicates thirteen of the eighteen settlements include persons of this ‘blood’ category. In the majority of these thirteen communities the ‘European’ population is small or negligible. It is only in the relatively new settlement of Mabel Bush in Southland, at Riverton and at Taieri that this population is dominant. Thus the statistics indicate that intermarriage between ‘half-castes’ and Pākehā was not engaged in by Kāi Tahu in Canterbury and Otago on the scale that it was at Taieri and Riverton. At Taieri, only 25 percent of the population was of ‘Māori’ descent, confirming that not only was it one of the most intermarried Kāi Tahu communities but that intermarriage between ‘half-caste’ and Pākehā had taken place much earlier and on a more extensive scale than in any other settlement.

Graph 5: Application of National Census Categories to the 1891 Census of Kai Tahu Settlements



Source: Graph compiled from raw data in *AJHR*, G-1, 1892.

The 1891 census of Kāi Tahu kāika provides a useful source from which to discuss intermarriage patterns at Taieri in the wider Kāi Tahu context. It illustrates that intermarriage patterns differed from kāika to kāika and thus denote the way in which the experience of colonization needs to be understood as historically and place specific. The racial classifications recorded for individuals at each Kāi Tahu settlement are a reflection of the historical pattern of intermarriage in the various provinces and districts. The statistics also convey that the mixed descent population was becoming an increasingly important part of Kāi Tahu demographics and identity. While it is uncertain who supplied the graduated degrees of ‘blood’ categories in the census, this concern with defining the indigenous population by ‘blood’ was not unusual in colonial societies and was a key to colonial understandings of indigenous health and demography and to measure the success of assimilation. These statistics are a reflection of social and political commentary that had by the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century positioned and redefined the ‘half-caste’ from an infertile hybrid to a source of demographic recovery. The 1891 census illustrates the shifting nature of identity when categories of ‘blood’ are applied and how differently Kāi Tahu and the state understood who was defined as Māori.

Family Formations at Taieri

By the 1891 census of Kāi Tahu settlements, the Taieri population had proportionally the largest mixed descent population of all Kāi Tahu settlements. It was during the 1890s that the Taieri Kāi Tahu and mixed descent population was at its peak. In 1891, with a population of 140 Maitapapa was the third largest centre in the Otago district behind Moeraki and Waikouaiti.⁵⁴² By contrast the 1891 national census recorded a population of 158 persons, and represented the peak of the population at lower Taieri. Significantly, this recovery took place at a time when the Māori population more generally had reached its lowest enumerated population of around 42,000 in 1896.

⁵⁴² *AJHR*, G-1, 1892, pp. 22-24.

A high birth rate and better rates of survival contributed to population growth at the settlement, while intermarriage between ‘half-caste’ and Pākehā had considerably altered the ethnic composition of the demographic, producing a largely ‘quarter-caste’ population. Only eleven families, ranging in size from three children to fifteen children, along with a number of single men, constituted the total population of Taieri in 1891. In short, the marriages that took place between 1850 and 1889 at Taieri were long lasting and often produced large families.

Table 9: Family Size

Name	Partner	Children
Elizabeth Palmer	James Crane	12
Ann Holmes	William Palmer	12
Harriet Palmer	Stephen Bishop	12
Mere Palmer	Smith, Bryant, Tanner	12
Harriet Palmer	William Overton	10
Martha Palmer	John Dickson	9
Eliza Palmer	Walter Gibb	8
Hannah Palmer	Peter Campbell	7
George Brown	Helen McNaught	7
Agnes Campbell	James Liddell	7
Ani Williams	John Wellman	6
William Brown	Margaret Davis	6
Ani Foster	Robert Sherburd	5

The 1891 census throws an interesting light on the ethnic composition of the Taieri population. As Graph Three indicates, it was the most intermarried population in the Otago region, with a demographic structure similar to the Murihiku settlements rather than to its counterparts in Otago. This is seen in the very large and dominant population of ‘quarter-castes’ who number 103 in Table Ten which has been compiled from the 1891 census of Kāi Tahu settlements. This total, in conjunction with a small enumerated ‘Māori’ population made up of just the Matene and Mocomoko families, with a population of just ten, reflects a trend toward marrying ‘out’ by the ‘half-caste’ population, reinforced by the absence of ‘three-quarter-castes’ and the enumeration of one male child of ‘one-eighth caste’.

Table 10: ‘Racial’ Composition of Taieri Kāika, 1891

Ethnicity	Male	Female	Total
Māori	6	4	10
Half-Caste	10	16	26
Quarter-Caste	56	47	103
One-Eighth	1		1
Total	73	67	140

Source: Table compiled from raw data in *AJHR*, G-1, 1892.

Application of the statutory definitions of ‘Māori’ given in native lands and census legislation to the population at Taieri transforms it from largely mixed descent to ‘European’ status. This is seen in Graph Five, which adds a layer of complexity to the population that had developed at Taieri by 1891. Thus the impact of long-term intermarriage at Taieri is made explicit. Not only was it, as Bill Dacker states, the most mixed population in the Kāi Tahu rohe but it was also the most ‘European’ population. By contrast, the majority of Kāi Tahu settlements were ‘Māori’ as defined under census legislation. The only communities of comparable composition were Riverton with a balanced ‘Māori’ and ‘European’ population while the new small settlement of Mabel Bush was largely ‘European.’ However, definition of their population through ‘blood’ categories did not mean that the families at Taieri Native Reserve were ‘European’ in identity.

Conclusion

By 1891 the demographic recovery of the Taieri population paralleled the growth in the Kāi Tahu population in general. The 1891 Census illustrated that the manner in which Kāi Tahu defined its population by this date had moved to accommodate persons of mixed descent within its tribal identity. In the case of Maitapapa the census indicated that intermarriage continued to be a determining factor of the demographic character of the Maitapapa community. Significantly, this was intermarriage of a different character to that experienced in other Kāi Tahu

communities. The production of a large ‘quarter-caste’ population by 1891 indicates that intermarriage between ‘half-castes’ and Pākehā had taken place much earlier at this community than elsewhere. The ethnic composition of this community illustrates the manner in which the definition of who was ‘Māori’ continually shifted. For Kāi Tahu, the classifications in the 1891 census reveal that inclusion within tribal identity was predicated on not only descent but also participation. For officials, ‘blood’ categories allowed the extent of intermarriage, and by extension assimilation, to be examined. The ‘racial classifications’ applied in 1891 census present a picture of a predominantly mixed descent population at Maitapapa. However, under the national census categories and native land legislation definitions, Maitapapa became a largely ‘European’ population, distinguishing it from the majority of Kāi Tahu settlements. By 1891 Maitapapa was by ‘blood’ and by government statute no longer a Kāi Tahu settlement. However, as Chapter Six illustrates the period between 1890 and 1915 was one of demographic stability seen in the development of a core community of mixed descent families at the kāika, who articulated their identity as both Kāi Tahu and mixed descent.

6

IDENTITIES, 1890-1915

Introduction

The period 1890 to 1915 is a key stage in the history of the mixed descent families of Maitapapa. It was during this period that a stable population was in residence at the kāika. The identity expressed by the core community that had developed at Maitapapa over the last decade of the nineteenth century and which was maintained in the first fifteen years of the twentieth century is the subject of this chapter. It investigates to what extent these families engaged in Kāi Tahu politics and by extension articulated a Kāi Tahu identity, and in what ways this was expressed. The chapter also examines whether the families also articulated an identity that drew on their dual ancestry. It investigates these expressions of identity through the social and cultural events held at the kāika over the last decade of the nineteenth century, such as weddings and tangi. The chapter asks to what extent these social and cultural events, continuing customary food gathering, the vigilance displayed to maintain access to Lake Tatawai over the period of 1890 to 1915 and the opening of Te Waipounamu Hall on the kāika in 1901, can be viewed as symbols of a period of demographic stability as well as social and cultural consolidation.

A Core Community

In the early decades of the twentieth century the names of Brown, Garth, Connor, Overton and Tanner were repeatedly listed in the *Wise's Directory* as familiar kāika names. By 1903, William Bryant farmed in Henley West near Maitapapa and a year later his brother Thomas took up dairy farming nearby.⁵⁴³ Other

⁵⁴³ *Wise's Directory* 1903, p. 437. *Wise's Directory* 1904, p. 352.

names to appear during this period were Stevenson and Robinson, while Frederick Cook maintained his presence in the district as a farmer. New names such as Drummond and Crossan, as well as the familiar names of Martin and Wellman reappear in a substantial listing for Henley, Taieri Ferry and Henley West in 1905; their occupations are given as farmers, labourers, a rabbit agent, dairy farmer, a storekeeper and farm manager.⁵⁴⁴ Thus in the early years of the twentieth century intermarriage continued to tie many people to the kāika and its outlying townships.

The listings in the *Wise's Directory* for the ten year period of 1905 to 1915 convey a community with a substantial and stable population. Throughout this period the families of George and Helen Brown; William and Margaret Brown; John Connor; John and Elizabeth Drummond; Thomas and Elizabeth Garth; George and Ripeka Martin and his brother Henry; Benjamin Overton; Charles and Margaret Overton; Charles Wellman; John Wellman; William Wellman; Thomas and Mareta Bryant; William and Fanny Bryant; Richard and Harriet Crossan; John and Caroline Robinson; Robert and Mary Stevenson; George Brown junior; Thomas Brown; Charles Palmer; and Alexander Tanner constituted the population of Maitapapa/Henley and Taieri Ferry.⁵⁴⁵

A large and stable population during the period 1890 to 1915 is confirmed by the capital value recorded for the Taieri Native Reserve sections and buildings in 1903. The nine sections in the kāika, excluding the urupā, recorded a capital value of 1556 pounds, an increase since 1899 of 997 pounds.⁵⁴⁶ Only one section was valued at under 100 pounds, the remainder ranged between 120 and 337 pounds, reflecting the intensive cultivation taking place at the kāika by the Martin family, Mere Kui, Tieke Kona, Ani Wellman, and Lizzie Garth.⁵⁴⁷ The valuations of the 21 sections in Block A of the reserve also reflect greater settlement and cultivation with a total value

⁵⁴⁴ *Wise's 1905*, p. 379.

⁵⁴⁵ *Wise's 1905*, p. 379; *Wise's 1906*, p. 395; *Wise's 1907*, p. 408; *Wise's 1908*, p. 422; *Wise's 1909*, p. 448; *Wise's 1910*, pp. 462-463; *Wise's 1911*, p. 510; *Wise's 1912*, p. 502; *Wise's 1913*, p. 488; *Wise's 1914*, p. 419; *Wise's 1915*, p. 483.

⁵⁴⁶ *AJHR*, G-7, 1903, p. 9.

⁵⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

of 1566 pounds. However, the pattern of settlement on Block A was restricted. The majority of sections were valued at under 50 pounds and only seven sections, owned by William Brown, Harriet Overton, Sarah Robertson, John Barrett, George and Henry Martin, Wi Naihira, and Peti Parata, were valued at over 100 pounds.⁵⁴⁸ A number of these sections would have been leased to local farmers as Peti Parata, Wi Naihira and John Barrett did not reside at Taieri. Parata resided at Puketeraki and Naihira at Tuahiwi. The closer to the coastline the less intense the pattern of settlement with only the Brown family making any substantial use of their section in Block C, recording a capital value of 140 pounds.⁵⁴⁹

Throughout this period, the occupations listed in *Wise's Directory* indicate that agricultural work was the staple area of employment and income for the kāika families. The 1890 listing records that Robert, William, George and John Brown were resident at Henley, as were others of Kāi Tahu descent including John Connor, Robert Sherburd and James Smith.⁵⁵⁰ Robert Brown was listed as a farmer in 1892.⁵⁵¹ By 1893, labourers William Bryant and Henry Palmer were listed as resident at Henley.⁵⁵² In his unpublished memoirs, Thomas Brown, who was born in 1885 to William Brown and Margaret Davis, "in a cottage on the banks of the Taieri River at Henley", records that his father "was working hard [in] those early days, contract work, and was often away shearing."⁵⁵³ These men had to be 'Jacks-of-all-trades', engaging in a variety of work to survive throughout the year. William's father Robert Brown was a first-class pit sawyer, shearer, carpenter, as well as a skilled blacksmith.⁵⁵⁴ Others, such as the Wellman family, "who had no trades", did their best to farm their six acres of land at the kāika, while members of the Brown family worked as shearers on the Salisbury estate located in North Otago while others such

⁵⁴⁸ Ibid., pp. 9-10.

⁵⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 10.

⁵⁵⁰ *Wise's Directory 1890-91*, p. 230.

⁵⁵¹ *Wise's Directory 1892-93*, p. 138; *Stone's Otago and Southland Directory 1892*, p. 135.

⁵⁵² *Stone's Otago and Southland Directory 1893*, p. 136.

⁵⁵³ Thomas Brown, "The Life of Thomas Brown (and memory of others) 1885-1974," MS, undated, unpaginated, (Cecily Parker Collection).

⁵⁵⁴ *Otago Daily Times*, 24/2/1898, p. 3.

as the Bryants sheared on local estates.⁵⁵⁵ By 1900, eleven men either of Kāi Tahu descent or married 'in' to the community were listed in *Wise's Directory*. Of these men, nine were listed as farmers and two were contractors.⁵⁵⁶ The *Directory* shows that throughout the 1890s, farming or labouring work, in the form of contracting, were the predominant occupations engaged in by the kāika men. This employment was a family-centred activity, with the children labouring on the family property, supplementing their income with rabbiting and assisting parents on the dairy farm 'milking a few cows', with the product sold to the local dairy company.⁵⁵⁷ This family-based economy at the kāika continued while the men were 'abroad' engaged in seasonal work, as the small-scale nature of the farming enabled women and children to run properties.

In contrast to the high value on sections in the reserve and the available agricultural employment, female-headed households at the kāika were characterized by poverty. In times of seasonal employment the kāika was essentially a community led by women who suffered from the poverty that was outlined in evidence before Alexander Mackay's 1891 Commission. In particular, it was widows whose lack of a patriarch tied them to economic hardship. The year after the Census of Kāi Tahu settlements was published in the *AJHR*, so were letters from Kāi Tahu regarding their land claims. Included were six letters from Taieri families outlining the conditions in which they were living at the kāika. These letters illustrate the poverty experienced in a small Kāi Tahu community in the early 1890s. Over half of the letters were from the matriarchs of the Taieri community. The stories of hardship encountered by Mere Kui, Harriet Overton, Ani Sherburd and Ani Williams illuminate the difficulties of widowhood and the importance of marriage and re-marriage to survival. As Katie Pickles has shown in her case study of the experience of widowhood in Pictou County, Nova Scotia, this was a phase of life defined by the loss of a husband which

⁵⁵⁵ Brown MS, unpaginated. Ian Bryant, 20/6/2003.

⁵⁵⁶ *Wise's 1900*, p. 400. In 1901, of the eight men listed as either Kāi Tahu or married to Kāi Tahu, seven were farmers and one was a contractor: *Wise's 1901*, pp. 435-436.

⁵⁵⁷ Brown MS, unpaginated.

saw a woman enter a phase of economic and social uncertainty.⁵⁵⁸ With large families to care for, economic uncertainty defined the experience of widows at Maitapapa. Mere Kui requested that her rights to land at Otago and Canterbury to be investigated and acknowledged as “she looks to the Government to allow her some land for herself and family.”⁵⁵⁹ A similar claim was made by Annie Williams, asking for recognition of rights claimed through her mother in Canterbury, and for a parcel of land to be set aside for her family.⁵⁶⁰ To connect oneself to a patriarch through re-marriage was one way to alleviate poverty. Mere Kui was on her third marriage to James Tanner in 1893 and had eleven children. She had already experienced the destitution that often followed widowhood and thus knew the importance of marriage to survival.

Harriet Overton’s situation was also presented as in desperate need of investigation. Overton, Kona/Connor explained:

is a widow with five young children, who are not able to do anything for themselves, and are entirely dependent upon her. ... If under the circumstances you could grant her some relief, or induce the Government to give her assistance, you would be doing an act of justice.⁵⁶¹

Kona/Connor also wrote outlining the claim of his sister Annie, ‘who has been left a widow with four children’, living on land at Taieri that was ‘gifted’ to them when they arrived from Kaiapoi in the 1860s.⁵⁶² Such was the concern over the poverty faced by widows with large families at Taieri that Tiaki Kona pressed the issue again in 1892 stating that: “Mrs Overton and Mrs Wilmott, with their families, are all in very destitute circumstances, and require assistance very much, and they look to Government more than local charitable institutions for aid in their distress.”⁵⁶³ In

⁵⁵⁸ Katie Pickles, “Locating widows in mid-nineteenth century Pictou County, Nova Scotia,” *Journal of Historical Geography*, 30, 1, 2004, pp. 70-86.

⁵⁵⁹ South Island Native Land Claims, 1893, p. 42, Box 2, Folder 15, No. 15, W. A. Taylor Papers, (CM).

⁵⁶⁰ John Conner to Cadman, 12/12/1892, p. 42, Box 2, Folder 15, No. 15, W. A. Taylor Papers, (CM).

⁵⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

⁵⁶² *Ibid.*

⁵⁶³ Connor to Cadman, 30/12/1892, pp. 47-48, Box 2, Folder 15, No. 15, W. A. Taylor Papers, (CM).

these comments, Kona/Conner implies that the government had some responsibility to alleviate the hardships experienced by members of the kāika community.



Illustration 12: Harriet Overton and her son George.

Source: E. M. Palmer (Personal Collection).

Marriage records consolidate a picture of a core community at the kāika, and also demonstrate that the families were predominantly of mixed descent. Many of the children of the partnerships that were entered into between 1850 and 1889 married in the period 1890 to 1915. By the late nineteenth century there were clear ethnic differences in the choice of partners with those of half or more ‘blood’ marrying ‘in’ and those ethnically Kāi Tahu but visibly Pākehā choosing to marry ‘out’. This represented a continuing trend for women and an increasing trend for men.

Tables Eleven and Twelve reveal two trends. First, the majority of marriages over the period 1890 to 1915 were engaged in by ‘quarter-castes’, reflecting the long history of intermarriage of ‘half-castes’ and Pākehā in this community. Furthermore, those of ‘one-eighth-caste’ were becoming significant in the marriage patterns,

particularly for mixed descent women. Of the 43 marriages in the period 1890 to 1915, 34 were entered into by people of ‘quarter-caste’ status or less. Second, while there are only seven ‘half-caste’ women listed in Table Eleven, three of these women chose to marry ‘in’ men to Kāi Tahu descent. Two of these married their first cousins: Mabel Smith married her cousin John Brown in 1900 at Mosgiel and Jane Bryant married her cousin Joe Crane in 1895 at Dunedin.⁵⁶⁴ With reference to men, it is predominantly ‘quarter-castes’ who were marrying ‘out’, while those listed as ‘half-caste’ and Māori conform to women’s marriage patterns by choosing to marry ‘in’ to Kāi Tahu or those of mixed descent.

Table 11: Marriages (Maitapapa Women): 1890-1915

Name	‘Race’	Groom	Occupation	Birthplace	Year	Place
Sarah Overton	Quarter	Robert Stevenson	Stockman	Wanaka	1890	Dunedin
Emma Palmer	Quarter	George Adams	Labourer	Dunedin	1892	Dunedin
Caroline Overton	Eighth	John Robinson	Farmer	West Taieri	1893	Berwick
Mary Overton	Eighth	John Stevenson	Clerk	Geelong	1893	Henley
Jane Campbell	Quarter	Isaac Yorston	Labourer	Waihola	1893	Milton
Annie Sherburd	Half	Abraham Starkey*	Farmer	Dunedin	1894	Kaiapoi
Sarah Crane	Eighth	David Given	Stonemason	Dunedin	1895	Waihola
Jane Bryant	Quarter	Joe Crane*	Farmer	Waihola	1895	Dunedin
Eliza Neil	Half	Teone Paka*	Farmer	Taumutu	1895	Taumutu
Caroline Bryant	Quarter	George Milward	Japanner	England	1895	Wellington
Sarah Sherburd	Quarter	Wm Robertson	Farmer	Dunedin	1897	Henley
Elizabeth Brown	Half	Thomas Garth	Labourer	Henley	1898	Dunedin
Mabel Smith	Half	John Brown*	Labourer	Henley	1900	Mosgiel
Ann Bishop	Eighth	Percival Thomson	Compositor	Waipawa	1902	Wellington
Harriet Overton	Eighth	Richard Crossan	Storeman	Milton	1903	Henley
Elizabeth Wellman	Quarter	John Drummond	Labourer	Outram	1903	Henley
Jessie Tanner	Quarter	Harold Hanna	Boilermaker	Invercargill	1907	Dunedin
Mary Brown	Half	John Walker			1907	Henley
Elizabeth Tanner	Quarter	James Cushnie	Farmer	Wyndham	1907	Invercargill
Hannah Palmer	Eighth	Fred Crane*	Farmer	Waihola	1908	Seaward Downs
Betsy Brown	Half	Alex Smith	Engineer	Dunedin	1909	Henley
Alma Palmer	Eighth	John Russell	Labourer	Taieri Mouth	1911	Taieri Mouth
Jessie Bishop	Eighth	John Horn			1912	Hawera
Caroline Flutey	Half	August Annis	Labourer	Waihola	1912	Milton

* Kāi Tahu Descent

Source: Registered Marriage Certificates (BDM).

The kinds of marriages entered into were reflected in the location of weddings. Of the 43 marriages recorded in the period 1890 to 1915 seven took place at Henley, while five took place in the lower Taieri region, a reflection of a continued trend for mixed descent men and women to marry the daughters and sons of local settlers. The

⁵⁶⁴ Marriage Certificates: Jane Bryant and James Crane 1895/1419; Jane Smith and John Brown 1900/5735.

marriages of half-brothers James Smith and William Bryant to Emma Robson and Fanny Horne, each the daughter of a well-known Taieri Ferry family, took place at Taieri Ferry, opposite the kāika. They symbolically confirmed James' and William's ties to the local district and to the families into which they were tied by marriage. The marriages of James and William contributed to a continuing trend to marry 'out' to Pākehā women. However, in terms of place of marriage and residence these marriages were also about marrying 'in' to the local settler community.

Table 12: Marriages (Maitapapa Men): 1890-1915

Name	'Race'	Bride	Occupation	Birthplace	Year	Place
James Smith	Quarter	Emma Robson		England	1891	Taieri Ferry
William Bryant	Quarter	Fanny Horne		England	1893	Taieri Ferry
Henry Martin	Māori	Ripeka Karetai*		Otago Heads	1893	Dunedin
Joe Crane	Quarter	Jane Bryant*		Otokia	1895	Dunedin
J C Crane	Quarter	Elizabeth Smith		Australia	1897	Sydney
John Wellman	Quarter	Ann Campbell		Otago	1898	West Taieri
Stephen Bishop	Eighth	Alice Conlin	Tailoress	Wellington	1899	Wellington
Alfred Palmer	Quarter	Eliza Vince		Sedgemere	1899	Leeston
William Sherburd	Quarter	Sarah Mackie		Wales	1900	Mosgiel
John Brown	Half	Mabel Smith*		Henley	1900	Mosgiel
Robert Bryant	Quarter	Pani Potiki*		Balclutha	1902	Dunedin
William Wellman	Quarter	Sarah McIntosh	Domestic	Winton	1904	Henley
John Palmer	Quarter	Minnie Carter			1904	Wellington
Charles Overton	Eighth	Margaret Chalmers	Domestic	Milton	1907	Milton
William Crane	Quarter	Rawinia Ruben*			1908	Tuahiwi
John Palmer	Quarter	Cora Flint			1912	Dunedin
George Overton	Eighth	Lucy Eggers		Waituna	1913	Raurimu
James Liddell	Eighth	Ellen Higgie			1914	Taieri Beach
Alfred Palmer	Quarter	Kare Manihera†			1914	Featherston

* Kāi Tahu Descent

† Māori (iwi unknown)

Source: Registered Marriage Certificates (BDM)

The small number of marriages that took place outside of the lower Taieri region underscores the development of a core community at Maitapapa. Places of marriage for men and women had extended to the outlying townships and to Mosgiel and Dunedin where Registry Offices were located. There were also a small number of marriages that took place outside of Otago by people who had already left the community. Only fifteen out of a total 43 marriages took place outside of Otago, mainly in Kaiapoi, Wellington, and Invercargill with one in Sydney, Australia. A number of these marriages reflected the lure of employment opportunities and kinship

ties to settlements and towns outside of the lower Taieri district. For example, Alfred Palmer married at Leeston where he had ties of kinship through his sister Beatrice who was married to local fisherman Charles Johnson.⁵⁶⁵

While marrying 'out', which entailed marrying to Pākehā and moving away from the kāika, became an increasingly obvious trend, this was paralleled by the continued trend for Pākehā men to marry 'in' and live on the reserve. This added to an already present group of Pākehā men living at the reserve. New additions to the community included William Robertson and Thomas Garth, who were tied to the community and stable residence patterns through marriage to Sarah Sherburd and Lizzie Brown in 1897 and 1898 respectively.⁵⁶⁶ In 1890 James Tanner, married to Mere Kui, William Palmer, Mere Kui's father, and William Overton, married to Harriet Palmer were recorded as farmer, carpenter and poundkeeper respectively and were living at the kāika.⁵⁶⁷ By 1894-95, Frederick Cook, who was married to Mere Smith, daughter of Mere Kui, was also resident at Henley.⁵⁶⁸ The continued trend to marry 'in' by Pākehā men contributed to a stable population at the kāika. Throughout the 1890s, Robert Brown and his sons, the Overton family, Tiaki Kona, the Palmer family, the Tanner family and the Wellmans all resided at Maitapapa/Henley.

Two sets of official statistics, a government commission of inquiry and the national census, demonstrate a pattern of intermarriage at the Taieri reserve that continued to assimilate Pākehā into the community. In his investigation of landlessness amongst Kāi Tahu during the sitting of the Middle Island Native Land Claims Commission in 1891, Alexander Mackay's statistics provide evidence of Pākehā residing at the reserve. At Taieri, the list gives a population of 129 people of Kāi Tahu descent at Taieri and thirteen Pākehā partners, ten of whom were men and three were women.⁵⁶⁹ In 1896 the Pākehā population at Maitapapa was recorded in

⁵⁶⁵ Marea Johnson, 24/1/2003.

⁵⁶⁶ Marriage certificates: Sarah Sherburd to William Robertson 1897/4540; Elizabeth Brown to Thomas Garth 1898/3393.

⁵⁶⁷ *Wise's Directory 1890-91*, p. 230. *Stone's Otago and Southland Directory 1890*, p. 134.

⁵⁶⁸ *Wise's Directory 1894-95*, p. 366.

⁵⁶⁹ *AJHR*, G-7, 1891, pp. 16, 20, 23, 25, 30-31.

the national census for the first time. A total of 28 'Europeans' were in residence at the kāika, of whom thirteen were men and fifteen were women.⁵⁷⁰ This is a significant statistic as it confirms that there was a continuing pattern of Pākehā residing at the kāika rather than moving to its outer boundaries. This pattern of residence is no longer gendered male as it was in the previous decades, evidenced by the presence of fifteen European women at the reserve. Added to the population of Taieri Kāi Tahu of 149, this gives a total of 177 people requiring use of the reserve land. Significantly, these statistics illustrate that transgressing the boundaries of the reserve was not confined to Kāi Tahu but also included Pākehā living and cultivating on the reserve, suggesting that boundary crossing was negotiable. However, these marriages and settlement patterns had economic and cultural implications.

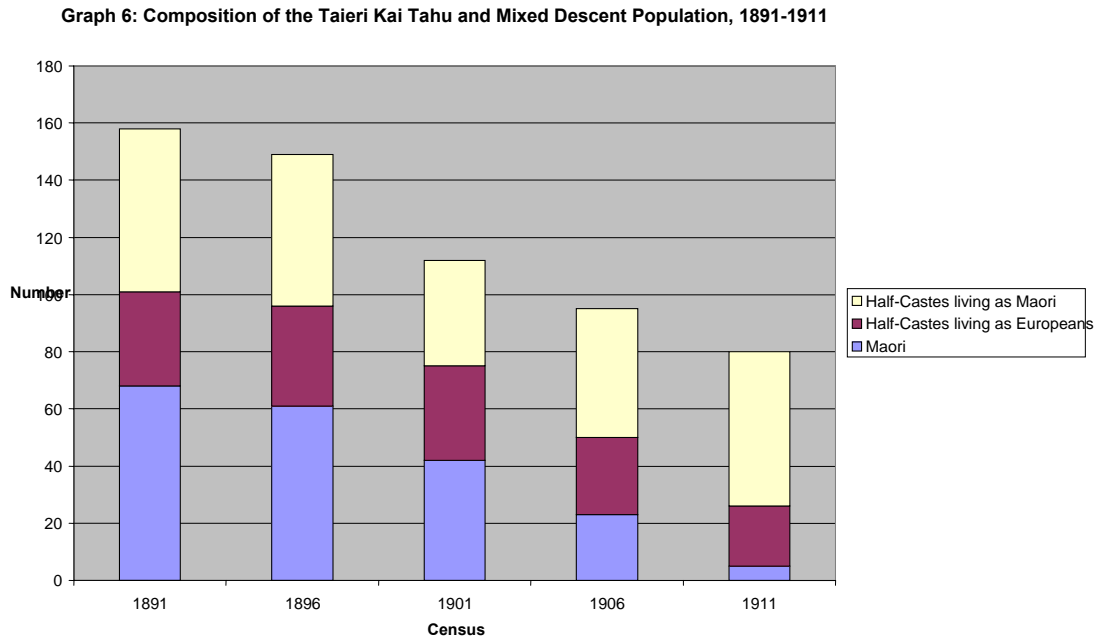
A pattern of intermarriage at the reserve which continued to witness Pākehā assimilating into the kāika community saw the consolidation of a demographic that was predominantly of mixed descent. This is confirmed by national census figures in Graph Six. In 1891, the national census recorded 125 persons residing at the kāika and a further 33 persons of mixed descent recorded in the general population and living on the margins of the reserve.⁵⁷¹ In 1896 the national census recorded a total Kāi Tahu population of 149 at Taieri. The general population figures included 35 'half-castes,' added to a 'Māori' population of 61 along with 53 'half-castes living as Maori'.⁵⁷² At the time of the 1901 national census the Māori population at Taieri was 42. There were 37 'half-castes living as Maori', giving a total population of 79 along with eighteen men and fifteen women recorded as 'half-castes' in the general census, giving a total of 112 people of Kāi Tahu descent residing at lower Taieri.⁵⁷³

⁵⁷⁰ *Results of a Census of the Colony of New Zealand taken for the night of the 12 April 1896*, (Wellington, Government Printer, 1897), p. 74.

⁵⁷¹ *Results of a Census of the Colony of New Zealand taken for the night of the 5th April 1891*, (Wellington, Government Printer, 1892), pp. 10, lix.

⁵⁷² *Census 1896*, pp. 11, lv.

⁵⁷³ *Results of a Census of the Colony of New Zealand taken for the night of the 31st March 1901*, (Wellington, Government Printer, 1902), pp. 13, lvii.



Source: National Census 1891, pp. 10, lix; National Census 1896, pp. 11, 1v, 1vi; National Census 1901, pp. 13, 1vii; National Census 1906, pp. 13, 1iv; National Census 1911, pp. v, 16.

By 1906 the ‘Māori’ population of Taieri was recorded as eight men and fifteen women while the ‘half-castes’ living as members of the tribe constituted 28 men and seventeen women, giving a total ‘Māori’ population of 68, which was confirmed by the native officer’s report of that year.⁵⁷⁴ Added to these figures is a recorded ‘half-caste’ population in the general census of 27 giving a total of 95, a reduction in the population of seventeen people over five years.⁵⁷⁵ In the 1911 census a ‘Māori’ population of 59 consisting of five Māori and 54 ‘half-castes’ were residing at Henley, while 21 ‘half-castes’ were recorded in the general census, giving a total population of 80.⁵⁷⁶

There was a consistent reduction in the Kāi Tahu Māori population over the period 1891 to 1911. Over this twenty year period, the Māori population had steadily

⁵⁷⁴ *Results of a Census of the Colony of New Zealand taken for the night of the 29th April 1906*, (Wellington, Government Printer, 1907), p. 1iv. ‘Census of Maori Population, *AJHR*, 1906, H-26a, p. 32.

⁵⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 1iv.

⁵⁷⁶ *Results of a Census of the Dominion of New Zealand taken for the night of the 2nd April 1911*, (Wellington, Government Printer, 1912), p. 16 and Appendix A, p. v.

decreased, paralleling the decrease of the overall population at the kāika. By contrast, the mixed descent population had increased as a proportion of the overall population. In 1891, those of mixed descent constituted 57 percent of the overall population. This steadily increased to 59 percent in 1896, 62.5 percent in 1901, 75 percent in 1906, reaching a mixed descent population of 93 percent by 1911. Except for 1891 and 1896, these rates are comparatively higher than the overall mixed descent population for Kāi Tahu more generally which reached its peak in 1896 at 77.1 percent, dropping to 62.7 percent in 1906.⁵⁷⁷

Given the growing proportion of the mixed descent population against the Kāi Tahu population illustrated in the previous chapter, it is not surprising that the 1906 national census report described the living conditions of the ‘half-caste’ population in the South Island as ‘particularly European in manner’. They “mostly have separate holdings and separate homes, although the areas they hold and cultivate are much smaller than are usually owned by Europeans.”⁵⁷⁸ The situation of Kāi Tahu and the South Island was perceived as a model of successful assimilation as it was believed that “only a very small percentage of half-castes in the South Island can be truly said to be living as members of Maori tribes.”⁵⁷⁹ It was further stated in the 1911 census report that:

It is a matter of some difficulty to ascertain the number of half-castes living as Maoris. There is no very defined rule to guide the Enumerators and sub-enumerators in deciding what half-castes should be classified as “living as Europeans” and “living as Maoris” respectively. This applies especially to the South Island. Probably it would not be very inaccurate to say that all half-castes - and, indeed a large proportion of the Maoris as well - in the South Island now live in European fashion.⁵⁸⁰

This was commonly attributed to early and widespread intermarriage. Due to the perceived lack of distinctly Māori settlements, in combination with their level of education in speaking and reading English, South Island Māori were enumerated as

⁵⁷⁷ Atholl Anderson, *Race against time*, (Dunedin, Hocken Library, 1991), p. 20.

⁵⁷⁸ *AJHR*, H-26a, 1906, p.1.

⁵⁷⁹ *AJHR*, H-14a, 1911, p.19.

⁵⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p.2.

part of the general census by 1921.⁵⁸¹ This ‘assimilation’ of Kāi Tahu into the general statistics was the culmination of a long history of culture contact which had been commented upon since the mid-nineteenth century. While Kāi Tahu no longer featured in the Māori census or in official statistics in practice this ‘assimilation’ was not as complete as the statistics and reports of enumerators indicated.

Articulation of Identities

For those who remained at Maitapapa in the last decade of the nineteenth century, social and cultural events at the kāika reveal that the Taieri families articulated dual identities as both Kāi Tahu and mixed descent. One area that located the families as Kāi Tahu was access to mahika kai for tuna/eels, inaka/whitebait and titi/muttonbirds. By the late nineteenth century an economic cycle was in place at the kāika. In the spring and summer the families engaged in shearing and harvesting of wheat. In the winter they went rabbiting, duck shooting, mutton-birding, their winter food being smoked fish.⁵⁸² They fished in the summer, and over October and November went whitebaiting. In the autumn potatoes were harvested. Winter work consisted of labouring, such as erecting and maintaining fences on local farms. The families engaged in a mixture of subsistence agriculture and wage labour. Access to traditional sources of foods thus remained important to survival. While William Brown kept sheep on the hill land, often killing them for mutton, there was also “plenty of fish and game in the river and swamplands.”⁵⁸³ Thomas Brown’s memoirs of growing up on the kāika during the 1890s recorded the significance of local food sources to survival throughout a period marked by poverty and population growth.

⁵⁸¹ *Results of a Census of the Dominion of New Zealand taken for the night of the 17 April, 1921* (Wellington, 1922), General Summary, p.60.

⁵⁸² Brown MS, unpaginated.

⁵⁸³ Ibid.



Illustration 13: Thomas Brown, 1885-1974.

Source: David Brown (Personal Collection).

A seasonal migration to the Titi Islands was undertaken by the majority of the kāika families, to the point that ‘sometimes the kaik would be deserted.’⁵⁸⁴ Thomas and George Brown often stayed with Walter Joss at Rakiura for the muttonbird season from the end of February. It was during the short four week season on the Titi Islands that Thomas and George were taught to catch, clean, slate and cure the birds and make the flax baskets in which to carry and preserve them.⁵⁸⁵ Maintaining whakapapa rights to the Titi Islands was “a most important cultural, social and political facet of Ngai Tahu tribal identity.”⁵⁸⁶ For instance, on return from the harvest the preserved birds formed a key aspect of the Kāi Tahu food exchange network, in feasting and gift-giving.⁵⁸⁷ These birds were brought back to Maitapapa and sent on to kin elsewhere and also traded alongside flounders and trout to local tradesmen to pay off

⁵⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁸⁶ Waitangi Tribunal, *Ngai Tahu Report 1991*, (Tribunal, Wellington, 1991), p. 856.

⁵⁸⁷ Atholl Anderson, “Historical and Archaeological Aspects of Muttonbirding in New Zealand,” *New Zealand Journal of Archaeology*, 17, 1995, pp. 38-39.

debt.⁵⁸⁸ Thus, this was not just an economic expedition but a social and cultural one crucial to reinforcing kin links, maintaining rights and access to resources and preserving cultural knowledge.



Illustration 14: The Joss family at Rakiura. L to R: Robert Whaitiri, Carrie Joss, Walter Douglas Joss, Betsy Joss, George Topi, Joseph Joss and George Brown.

Source: *Te Pānui Rūnaka*, February 2000, p. 19.

In the last decade of the nineteenth century, land remained the dominant issue for the Taieri families and for Kāi Tahu generally. At a time when the Kāi Tahu population was growing and placing greater pressure on the land, further concern was voiced over the small size of Kāi Tahu reserves. The 1891 Middle Island Native Land Claims Commission reflected the inadequacy of reserve land for sustenance and economic survival. The Commission was undertaken by Alexander Mackay and visited Kāi Tahu settlements seeking to investigate the adequacy of the reserves set aside Kāi Tahu under the land purchases of 1844 to 1864 for their maintenance and support. In every community Mackay heard personal stories of poverty and hardship, of the poor

⁵⁸⁸ Thelma Smith, *Tai-ari Ferry and Henley "Our Native Place": A Souvenir of the Schools Jubilee, 24th-27th January, 1941*, (Dunedin, Otago Daily Times and Witness Newspapers, 1941), p. 25.

quality of land and the necessity of having to survive off seasonal labour. The fact that the Commission sat at Henley to hear evidence from local families suggests that the community was identified as Kāi Tahu in character and politics while the nature and content of the evidence presented before Mackay by the Taieri families illustrates the articulation of a Kāi Tahu identity.

Tiaki Kona/Jack Conner spoke on behalf of the kāika families before the Commission. Kona detailed the insufficiency of their lands, from which they were unable to make a living and as a result were dependent upon work from local settlers at shearing and harvesting to earn a small income.⁵⁸⁹ This situation was compounded by the poor quality of land at the Taieri Native Reserve, Kona claimed, as it was not only inferior but too precipitous to use. The only part of the reserve that was fit for cultivation was a few acres around their dwellings while the rest of the block was let at a low rent to the Henley Estate.⁵⁹⁰ The ability to work was restricted by illness and age in the case of a number of men in the community. Martin Koroko and Tom Brown were unable to work, while “others were just able to live and that was all.”⁵⁹¹



Illustration 15: Tiaki Kona/Jack Conner, leader of the Taieri community up to his death in 1920.

Source: Otago Settlers' Museum.

⁵⁸⁹ Minutes of Evidence, 26/2/1891, p. 16, MA 72/1, (ANZ-W).

⁵⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁹¹ Ibid.

The establishment of a rūnaka, or a committee, in the 1890s from which the Maitapapa families engaged in wider Kāi Tahu politics is also evidence of a commitment to Kāi Tahu identity. Their engagement with Kāi Tahu politics went beyond presenting evidence before Royal Commissions and government inquiries into land grievances, extending to attendance, and most significantly, a speaking role at major hui/gatherings. The situation outlined by Kona before the 1891 Commission was reasserted at a hui at Otākou attended by the Native Minister A.J. Cadman in December 1892. Kona stated:

I am from the Taieri river. The Taieri people unfortunately, are unable to come here to see you; they have gone abroad to seek work for themselves. ...The reason I came was this – that I thought you would be unable to go to the Taieri. There are a number of people who are in trouble there, who are living without adequate sustenance. There are a number of men and also children who are without sufficient means.⁵⁹²

In that year the families of Matene, Tuarea, Bryant, and Sherburd were listed as indigent and receiving aid from the government.⁵⁹³ It is not surprising that many families were struggling to survive given the size of population, placed at 170 by Kona in 1893.⁵⁹⁴ The rūnaka and individual families also contributed money to the Kāi Tahu Claim or Te Kereme, a fighting fund which was established in 1879 to press for the investigation into land grievances.⁵⁹⁵ In addition, the Taieri Ferry Schoolhouse was a designated polling booth in the Southern Māori electorate from 1885.⁵⁹⁶

The kāika families also corresponded with Mackay and with the Native Minister on a wide variety of matters of concern to the community that located them within the framework of Kāi Tahu politics. Like many Kāi Tahu communities, the families lacked medical attention and suffered from insanitary conditions. In 1892,

⁵⁹² *Otago Witness*, 15/12/1892, p. 15.

⁵⁹³ *AJHR*, 1892, G-5.

⁵⁹⁴ John Connor to Native Minister, 21/3/1893, in Supporting Papers to Evidence of David Armstrong, Vol. 9, Part 1, Document 14, Crown Papers (Wai-27).

⁵⁹⁵ List of contributions and monies collected from the Taiari Runanga, 27/3/1892, 145OS/53, Box 22, Taiaroa Papers, (CM). Arama Pitama Papers, pp. 61, 65, 66, 67, 69 (Te Maire Tau Personal Collection).

⁵⁹⁶ *New Zealand Gazette*, 20/5/1885, p. 640.

Kona drew attention to “the sickness that is prevalent among the Natives of this district at present, and they (the Natives) are so poor that they cannot afford to employ a doctor, and can only get medical advice if I become responsible for the doctor’s fees, which I cannot afford to do.”⁵⁹⁷ Poor health was compounded by poor sanitation and inability to access clean water. Water tanks were repeatedly requested for the kāika houses “as the water in the river is not fit for use for domestic purposes, as when it rains the water is muddy, and when not raining the tide comes up and makes the water salt.”⁵⁹⁸

The stream of correspondence of the Taieri families to the Native Minister and Native Office reflects local concerns that were often also concerns widely held by Kāi Tahu communities. The language employed by writers in such correspondence also illuminates the generational impact of education that Chapter Four illustrated was evident from 1878. The older generation, such as Robert Brown and Tiaki Kona, continued to write their letters in Māori.⁵⁹⁹ The presentation of these letters is instructive. The fact that they could write illustrates that education had extended beyond the school and into the family. Given that it was stated in 1878 that the children spoke English at home, it is likely that the parents had either been instructed by their children or that their children wrote the letters on their behalf. Tiaki Kona, for example, could not read or write in English. Kona informed Herries Beattie that he employed a ‘white man’ as a clerk to write letters on his behalf.⁶⁰⁰

In signing their names to these letters the writers also identified their ethnic identity. Using his christened name, Robert Brown signed as a ‘half-caste’, as did William Sherburd and Annie Wellman, while Teone Mekomoko signed as ‘Māori’, and John Walter Martin and George Martin as ‘Native.’⁶⁰¹ With a Christian marriage

⁵⁹⁷ John Connor to Cadman, 30/12/1892, pp. 47-48, Box 2, Folder 15, No. 15, W. A. Taylor Papers, (CM). Medical attendance at Kāi Tahu settlements was discussed in *NZPD*, 1892, vol. 76, p. 428.

⁵⁹⁸ Ibid. Connor requested tanks for the settlement as early as 1885 in a letter stating that the Taieri River water was ‘not fit to drink’: 85/142 in MA 3/16, (ANZ-W).

⁵⁹⁹ For example John Connor to Tame Parata, 29/8/1891, LS 1/41749 (ANZ-W) and Robert Brown to Native Minister, 13/12/1892, MA 1 1892/2250, (ANZ-W).

⁶⁰⁰ MS-582/B/6, p. 1 (HL).

⁶⁰¹ Robert Brown and thirteen others to Native Minister, 13/12/1892, MA 1 1892/2250, (ANZ-W).

contract came baptism and renaming, which could act to obscure ethnic origins.⁶⁰² However, many of the names taken up through baptism and intermarriage, states Hana O'Regan, have become well-known as Kāi Tahu names particularly associated with certain places, and have thus become markers of ethnic and cultural identity.⁶⁰³ At the same time, these western names identify families as mixed descent and the continued importance of intermarriage.

Native Land Court meetings continued to be a central part of Kāi Tahu life. As the Court never sat at Maitapapa, residents or a representative had to travel to Kaiapoi, Waikouaiti, Puketeraki or Invercargill to attend meetings. The fact that they did so indicates vigilance over the matter of maintaining title and succession to land. Significantly, the Native Land Court was a space where individuals identified themselves as Kāi Tahu by presenting whakapapa in claiming their land interests. However, the outcome of attendance at the Court meetings, as for Māori everywhere, was the erosion of interests in the reserve through the process of succession (see Appendix Three).

Robert Brown owned section seven on the kāika consisting of six acres. After his death in 1898, his interest in this land was awarded by the Native Land Court to his six surviving children, Thomas, Robert, Eliza, William, George and Elizabeth, and his granddaughter Mabel.⁶⁰⁴ As a result, the six acre block was divided into seven interests, which were to be further eroded through the practice of succession on the death of Robert's children, many of whom had large families. Dividing the interests of the deceased equally amongst all surviving children was generally done by the Native Land Court where there was no will, and according to Tom Bennion and Judy Boyd effectively rendered the land uneconomic and thus more difficult to use.⁶⁰⁵

⁶⁰² See Patricia Olive Dickason, "From 'One Nation' in the Northwest to 'New Nation' in the Northwest: A look at the emergence of the metis," in Jacqueline Peterson and Jennifer S. H. Brown (eds.) *The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Métis in North America*, (Manitoba, University of Manitoba Press, 1985), pp. 19-36.

⁶⁰³ Hana O'Regan, *Ko Tahu, Ko Au*, (Christchurch, Horomaka Press, 2001), pp. 67-68.

⁶⁰⁴ SIMB 10, 21/6/1899, pp. 252-253.

⁶⁰⁵ Tom Bennion and Judy Boyd, *The Maori Land Court and Land Boards, 1909-1952*, (Wellington, Waitangi Tribunal, 1997), p. 8.

Robert Brown did make a will, in which he recognized the role of the Native Land Court in alienating land. He stated that: “All the lands in Taieri must not be sold or mortgaged but may be leased. . . . These lands are for the descendants of Paraone [Brown] only,” and “let not you or any of you [illegible] the Native Land Court against any of the words which I have written in this my will.”⁶⁰⁶ Making a will could counteract the impact of equal succession on an individual holding by naming specific successors or placing restrictions on lease or sale of the land in question. However, Robert Brown’s will was never presented before the Native Land Court and thus the rule of equality of succession was followed.

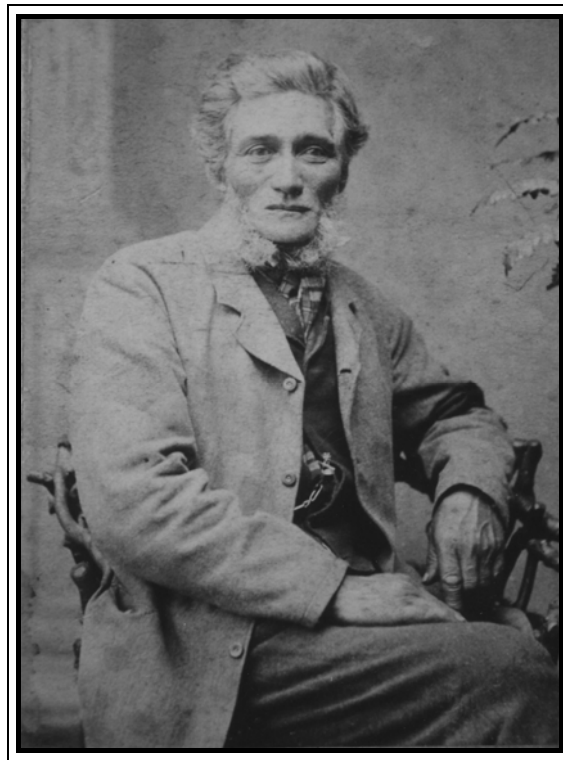


Illustration 16: Robert Brown, 1830-1898.

Source: David Brown (Personal Collection).

Tangi were major social and cultural events that drew a large gathering of Kāi Tahu from all over the rohe. Four senior members of the community died in the last

⁶⁰⁶ Will of Papu Paraone, 19/7/1895 in ‘Some Historical Information’ compiled by Alex Smith and Travis Brown, (David Brown Collection).

decade of the nineteenth century. Robert Brown's tangi was well-attended by a "large number from far and near."⁶⁰⁷ Brown was mourned in accordance with tikanga. The newspaper recorded the "wailing of a relative in true Maori style as the coffin was taken away from the house," while the funeral service was conducted by the Plymouth Brethren,⁶⁰⁸ signifying a mixture of western and traditional symbolism. Korako Matene Wera died on 22 September 1896 near Taieri Mouth.⁶⁰⁹ His life was celebrated at a traditional tangi and a Christian burial service was performed by the Salvation Army.⁶¹⁰ These events signify not only the continued importance of spirituality and the church in the lives of the kāika families, but the manner in which Kāi Tahu accommodated and integrated western practices of worship with traditional custom. By the 1890s, the urupā symbolised the hybrid nature of the community. In 1892, Tiaki Kona wrote to the Native Minister thanking him on behalf of the "natives of this Kaik" and the "neighbouring Europeans" as the enlargement to the size of the cemetery had given "Europeans of this district [the] ... freedom of burial in this cemetery now, and several are already buried there."⁶¹¹ This is confirmed by death certificates. Over the period 1890 to 1915, six Pākehā men, all of whom had been married to kāika women, were buried at the urupā: William Overton, John Wellman, William Palmer, James Tanner, Ned Palmer and Thomas Garth.

While fewer weddings took place at the kāika, they remained major social and cultural events. Significantly, the weddings that took place over the last decade of the nineteenth century identify the participants as mixed descent as does the manner in which they were conducted and the places where they were celebrated. There were seven weddings at the kāika in the homes of Harriet Overton and John Connor, one at Ani Wellman's home, and one at Elizbeth Garth's home. Two weddings were celebrated at the new Hall erected in 1901. Another fourteen weddings took place in

⁶⁰⁷ *Otago Daily Times*, 24/2/1898, p. 3.

⁶⁰⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁰⁹ Box 5, Folder 33, p. 36, W. A. Taylor Papers, (CM).

⁶¹⁰ 'Tangi at Kaik,' 29/9/1896, W. H. S. Roberts Newspapers Cuttings Vol. 2, 1894-1899, pp. 176-177, (DPL).

⁶¹¹ Tiaki Kona to Native Minister, 3/12/1892, MA 1 1892/2201, (ANZ-W).

private homes beyond the reserve, suggesting that they were important social and community events. Given that the community adopted Christianity in the 1840s and 1850s, it is surprising that only five weddings took place in the formal setting of a church. The more formal ritual of the church ceremony was accompanied by the development of the white wedding from 1880 as an important social ritual in New Zealand, which symbolized social standing and respectability.⁶¹² However, during the period 1890 to 1915 the wedding was a private affair celebrated amongst family and community and, as for the mixed descent families of Maitapapa, often in private homes. This continued a trend that had evolved in the period 1850 to 1889 and symbolized the acceptance and integration of new members into a family and community.⁶¹³

Large gatherings were often a feature of important social and cultural events such as weddings and tangi. Key to these events was the hosting of visitors and provision of hospitality by the matriarchs of the community such as Jane Brown, Mere Kui and Elizabeth Garth. Growing up at the kāika in the 1890s, Thomas Brown remembers that his grandparents Robert and Jane “always had visitors from other pah” at their home.⁶¹⁴ Visiting and hosting were one of many ways in which to maintain kin links and access to resources. Magda Wallscott, who resided at Otākou, stayed at the Taieri with her Aunt Ripeka Martin (formerly Karetai) where she was taught to weave flax.⁶¹⁵ A space to host large groups of visitors, community social and cultural events, religious meetings and political gatherings was required and from the late 1890s the community began to plan for a hall.

For those who remained at Maitapapa, the building of Te Waipounamu Hall on Section One of the kāika represented a significant cultural and community event and was the culmination of two decades of population growth. Not only was it a significant event for local Kāi Tahu but also for the wider river settlements. The fact

⁶¹² Sandra Coney, *I Do: 125 Years of Weddings in New Zealand*, (Auckland, Hodder Moa Beckett, 1995), p. 8.

⁶¹³ Ibid.

⁶¹⁴ Brown MS, unpaginated.

⁶¹⁵ Magda Wallscott, Bill Dacker Oral History Collection, (DPL).

that many local settler families as well as the kāika families contributed monies towards the costs of the hall indicates the way in which this was both a physically and culturally hybrid community. The hall was further evidence of the nature of the community in which the mixed descent families were living and negotiating at Maitapapa.

The selection of land and collection of subscriptions for the building of Te Waipounamu Hall was undertaken by the 'Committee for the Native Hall', which was established on 20 June 1900 at Henley. This was a committee of kāika men and included William Palmer, George Brown, William Brown, Thomas Garth, James Tanner, Robert Bryant, John Wellman, William Wellman and John Brown.⁶¹⁶ No settler families were included on the committee but it did include two Pākehā men, Thomas Garth and James Tanner, both of whom were married to kāika women. Their presence on the committee illustrates that intermarriage brought with it responsibilities to their families and community.



Illustration 17: Te Waipounamu Hall.

Source: Hocken Library.

⁶¹⁶ Henley Maori Kaika Minutes, 20/6/1900, (Ted Palmer Collection).

The erection of the hall was a truly inclusive river community event that depended upon the goodwill of Tiaki Kona to grant the land and on local settlers and Kāi Tahu for the money to buy the building materials and hire the labour. Originally a nineteen acre section of Block A owned by Eliza Brown was sought as the site for the Hall, for a portion of which she was paid one pound.⁶¹⁷ By August 1900, John Connor sold quarter of an acre of section one at the kāika to the Native Hall Committee and this was confirmed by a partition order before the Native Land Court in 1906.⁶¹⁸ Those present at the meeting to confirm the site of the hall at the corner of Main Road and Kaik Road reflected the inclusive nature of the activity and the demography of the community. Present were John Connor, George Brown, James Tanner, Ripeka Martin, Mere Tanner, Thomas Garth, husband of Elizabeth Brown, John Wellman, Ben Overton, Charles Wellman, William Wellman, John Drummond, Henry Sherburd, Lizzie Wellman, Mabel Brown, Thomas Brown and Henry Martin.⁶¹⁹

A number of cultural and social events were part of the opening celebrations, including a ball and “Natives to lead a grand march.”⁶²⁰ In the *Otago Daily Times*, the ceremony to open the hall was likened to “that employed at the opening of a whare runanga, or meeting house.”⁶²¹ A number of Kāi Tahu leaders were in attendance at the opening of the hall which was named Te Waipounamu, including Tame Parata, Ihaia Potiki of Clutha and Rawiri Te Maire of Arowhenua. Representatives from Otākou, Molyneux, Waikouaiti and Waihou were also present.⁶²² In accordance with protocol, Tiaki Kona addressed visitors with a speech of welcome in Māori. Ihaia Potiki and Rawiri Te Maire responded to Kona’s welcome and Tame Parata opened the hall. The presence of these Kāi Tahu leaders at the opening of the Hall situates Maitapapa as a recognized Kāi Tahu community.

⁶¹⁷ Ibid., 17/7/1900.

⁶¹⁸ Trustee Book, Native Hall, 25/8/1900, reaffirmed 3/11/1900, (Ted Palmer Collection). SIMB 15, 20/11/1906, pp. 8-9.

⁶¹⁹ Henley Maori Kaika Minutes, 20/7/1900, (Ted Palmer Collection).

⁶²⁰ Trustee Record Book, Native Hall, 26/3/1901, (Ted Palmer Collection).

⁶²¹ ‘Opening of a Native Hall at Henley,’ 10/4/1901, *Otago Daily Times*, MS-582/A/1, (OSM).

⁶²² Ibid.



Illustration 18: Tame Parata (centre) at the official opening of Te Wai Pounamu Hall with Ihaia Potiki (standing far left) and Rawiri Te Maire (standing far right).

Source: Hocken Library.

The contributions given to the opening ceremony recorded in the Trustee Book convey the bi-cultural nature of the event. Richard Crossan the local grocer and married to Harriet Overton (daughter of Harriet Palmer and William Overton), took on the job of catering for the opening on 9 April 1901, at which “a free dinner [was] to be given at 2 pm.”⁶²³ Crossan catered on the basis of contributions from the kāika families and local settlers. Beef, fowls and two bags of potatoes were given by George Brown; the Overtons gave potatoes; Henry Brown contributed one bag of potatoes, sugar and two pounds of tea; John Connor presented four geese, a fowl, a sack of flour and a bag of sugar; Mrs. Mere Martin gave two tins of biscuits; John Wellman gave two dry loaves; Mere Tanner gave beef and mutton; Henry Martin also gave mutton; and Harriet Overton presented meat and ducks, while a bullock was gifted by local settlers.⁶²⁴

⁶²³ Trustee Record Book, Native Hall, 26/3/1901, (Ted Palmer Collection).

⁶²⁴ Ibid. Smith, 1941, p. 13.



Illustration 19: Hāngi at the opening of Te Waipounamu Hall.

Source: Hocken Library.

While women were rarely on the hall organizing committee, they played a key role in the celebrations. They hosted visitors from outside the settlement for the week-long celebrations, assisted with the catering, and led by Rebecca Matene, made the flag adorned with the name of the hall, which was hoisted at the opening ceremony.⁶²⁵ The patriarchal nature of early intermarriage meant that it was the matriarchs who were present at the opening of the hall, as representatives of their families and as symbols of Kāi Tahu identity. The *Otago Daily Times* noted the presence of Elizabeth Crane and her sister Mere Tanner, as well as Hinehou Matene and her family at the celebrations.

The hall was built by local subscription for the purposes of religious services on Sundays and a range of other meetings during the week: “Although Henley is well supplied with Halls, the Natives and their descendants feel that a hall of their own is a necessity and makes them independent in the way of a meeting house.”⁶²⁶ Prior to the opening of the hall, services and baptisms were held at private homes. As the

⁶²⁵ Brown MS, unpaginated.

⁶²⁶ ‘Opening of a Native Hall at Henley,’ 10/4/1901, *Otago Daily Times*, MS-582/A/1, (OSM).

Anglicans never had a church in the lower Taieri district seventeen people were baptized at the Crane home by a visiting Anglican priest while Methodist church services were held at Taieri Ferry School.⁶²⁷ According to R. J. Stuart and Thelma Smith the Salvation Army had a strong presence at the kāika from the late 1880s when they began holding regular services at the houses of the Brown, Tanner, Matene and Sherburd families.⁶²⁸

In addition to using the hall for church services and to organize politically to protect fishing rights to Tatawai, the hall was employed for a range of social activities by Kāi Tahu and the local settlers in the first decades of the twentieth century. In 1911 Mr. Parsons held a dance at the hall, and in 1912 the Taieri Ferry Picnic Dance was also held there.⁶²⁹ Kath Hislop recalls that concerts were also a regular occurrence at the hall and were attended by both kāika and settler families.⁶³⁰ Weddings of both Kāi Tahu and of local settlers were also held at the hall, including that of Miss Parsons, the daughter of a prominent local settler, in June 1912.⁶³¹ Betsy Brown married Alexander Smith at the 'Native Hall' in 1909, as did John Wellman and Sarah McIntosh in 1904.⁶³² At these weddings and dances the Cranes, Browns and Wellmans entertained with music and singing.⁶³³ In addition, Besty Brown ran a regular cultural class in the hall for local children, teaching singing and dancing and how to make and use poi.⁶³⁴

⁶²⁷ R. J. Stuart, *Henley, Taieri Ferry and Otokia: A Schools and District History*, (Outram, Reunion Committee, 1981), pp. 27-28.

⁶²⁸ Smith, 1941, p. 13 and R. J. Stuart, 1981, p. 27.

⁶²⁹ Trustee Record Book Native Hall, 28/12/1911 and 29/2/1912, (Ted Palmer Collection).

⁶³⁰ Hislop, Tape 1, Side 1, 6/4/1994.

⁶³¹ Trustee Record Book Native Hall, 19/6/1912, (Ted Palmer Collection).

⁶³² Marriage Certificates: 1909/2297; 1904/6739.

⁶³³ Smith, 1941, pp. 5, 13.

⁶³⁴ Hislop, 6/4/1994.



Illustration 20: The Wellman brothers with band at Henley.

Source: Shirley Tindall (Personal Collection).

That it was a hall rather than a marae reflected the nature of the lower Taieri community as does the purposes for which the hall was designed, for the use not only of the kāika families but also of the settler families residing in the river settlements for social dances, weddings, political and community meetings. In short, Te Waipounamu Hall represents a period of transition in which cultural accommodation and integration characterized the life of the mixed descent community at Maitapapa.

Mahika Kai: Lake Tatawai

Essential to Kāi Tahu traditions and identity was maintaining access to local food gathering sites. In evidence presented before the 1891 Commission Kona stated that access to sources of mahika kai was restricted by the encroachment of settlers' holdings and the stocking of the river with trout which prevented people from catching tuna/eel.⁶³⁵ Complaints about the overstocking of trout in the river, which prevented families from netting inaka/whitebait, and being barred from eeling at

⁶³⁵ Minutes of evidence, 26/2/1891, p. 16, MA 72/1, (ANZ-W).

inland lakes was about both being denied sustenance and also the loss of an important cultural tradition.

In the first two decades of the twentieth century a number of petitions from local settlers and Kāi Tahu were received, inquiries were held and a series of acts were passed that affected the future of Lake Tatawai and the kāika families. Over this period, Tatawai was not the only wetland environment threatened by the pressures of drainage boards, county councils, river boards and the government in the form of drainage legislation and measures for flood control. Recent work by Katie Pickles on the history of Bottle Lake in Canterbury emphasizes that the wetland environment was one where imperial ideologies positioning wetlands as ‘waste areas’ as well as local pragmatism informed the constant transformation of this environment.⁶³⁶ As Geoff Park states, the drainage of the wetland environment was key to successful colonization as it enabled the transformation of a rich food source for Māori into productive farm land for British settlers.⁶³⁷ From the late nineteenth century the government supported the work of local bodies to drain the wetlands through national legislation such as the Hauraki Plains Act 1908 and the Rangitaiki Land Drainage Act 1910.⁶³⁸ In the national interest, wetlands were drained in order to turn ‘unproductive’ land into ‘productive’ land for the meat industry.

From the time of British colonization the lower Taieri landscape underwent physical transformation through the introduction of agricultural practices. Central to this transformation was drainage of the large inland wetland, which resulted in the loss of three shallow lakes. Originally the plain was a wetland that extended from Wingatui in the north to Waiholā in the south and the river and its major tributaries acted as a natural form of drainage.⁶³⁹ This wetland included three further inland

⁶³⁶ Katie Pickles, “The Re-Creation of Bottle Lake: From Site of Discard to Environmental Playground?” *Environment and History*, 9, 2003, pp. 419-434.

⁶³⁷ Geoff Park, “‘Swamps which might doubtless easily be drained’: Swamp drainage and its impact on the indigenous,” in Eric Pawson and Tom Brooking (eds.) *Environmental Histories of New Zealand*, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 151-168.

⁶³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 156.

⁶³⁹ Catherine Wilson, “Tatawai, Kai Tahu and the Claim,” (BA (Hons) Research Essay, University of Otago, 2002), p. 4.

lakes, the Potaka, Tatawai and Maramatetaha/Lake Ascog, which “was formerly a famous eeling place.”⁶⁴⁰ Catherine Wilson notes in her history of Tatawai that the drainage of the wetland began in the 1860s and by 1867, around 28,000 acres of the plain was under cultivation in the form of wheat, barley, oats, grasses, and potatoes, while agricultural enterprises such as sheep farms, grazing and dairying were beginning to be of significance in the area.⁶⁴¹ The advent of greater settlement and industry brought by the gold rushes, the processes of mining, sluicing, deforestation and cultivation, saw the lakes become increasingly filled with silt, increasing the depth of the water and acting to prevent their natural ponding role.⁶⁴² Drainage practices at Taieri led to the loss of Potaka as well as Tatawai. Like Tatawai, Maramatetaha was also drained despite Taieri families requesting its reservation as early as 1901.⁶⁴³ The loss of Tatawai by 1920 is representative of a wider national story of the loss of the wetland environment experienced by many Māori communities.

For the kāika, drainage of their inland waterways began a long struggle with the government, local authorities and local settlers to maintain access to their sources of mahika kai. The loss of Lake Tatawai was of particular concern, and had been since the 1890s. Indeed, in 1891, Tiaki Kona wrote to Southern Māori MHR, Tame Parata requesting that “a portion of land inland from Hapua” be “given to us for the purpose of cultivation because the Europeans are always running after persons who go there to grow food. I request that the “mana” over this portion of land be given to us. The name of this portion is Tatawai.”⁶⁴⁴ This request came six years after an initial petition seeking Tatawai or Waihoropunga be “returned to them.”⁶⁴⁵ Mackay recommended that a piece of land for a camping place be reserved for the Taieri community near Tatawai. Such a reserve would guarantee their access to the lake after

⁶⁴⁰ “Peninsula and Taieri,” Newspaper Cuttings, Box 12, Folder 95, No. 5, Taylor Papers, (CM).

⁶⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

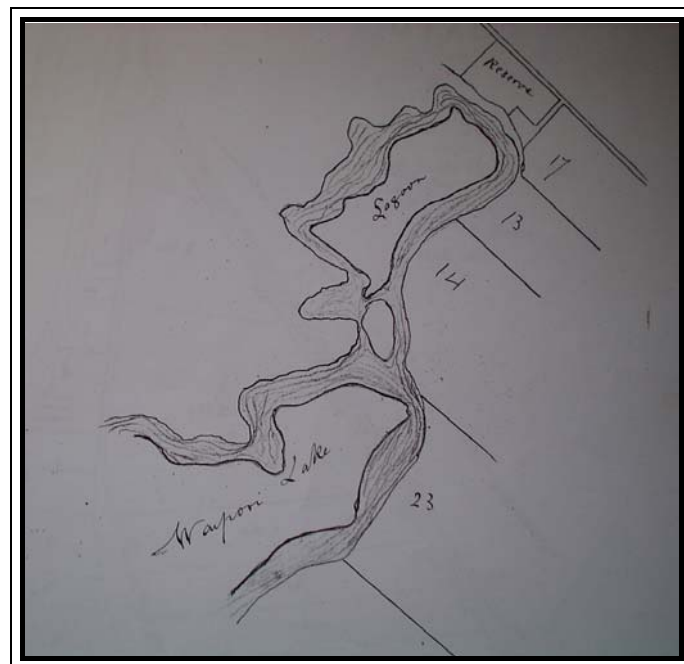
⁶⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁶⁴³ John Connor to Alexander Mackay, 13/9/1901, MLC 8/1, (ANZ-W).

⁶⁴⁴ John Connor to Tame Parata 28/8/1891, Translation 29/8/1891, LS 1/41749 (Box 398), (ANZ-W).

⁶⁴⁵ *AJHR*, I-2, 1885, p. 24.

having “been sent away by the Europeans whenever they go there.”⁶⁴⁶ Moreover, the reservation would also guarantee their access to a source of food as “they are prevented from fishing in the Taiari, owing to that river being stocked with imported fish” and furthermore, the “acquisition of the place alluded to would be a great boon to the people of the settlement, as they are very poorly off and have very little to depend on for a living.”⁶⁴⁷ Mackay’s sentiments evoked the evidence presented by Kona on behalf of the Taiari people before the Middle Island Commission in 1891.⁶⁴⁸ However, in what was a very short period, the Taiari families witnessed the loss of Tatawai and erosion of fishing rights in the early decades of the twentieth century. In short, Taiari’s waterways acted as a site of contact but by the late nineteenth century and into the twentieth century, they were a central site of conflict between Kāi Tahu, settlers, local authorities and the state, triggering what Pratt would refer to as a clash of cultures in the ‘contact zone.’



Map 5: Sketch Map of Lake Tatawai (Alexander Mackay).

Source: LS1/41479 (Box 298), Archives New Zealand, Wellington.

⁶⁴⁶ Alexander Mackay to Native Office, 16/9/1891, LS 1/41749 (Box 398), (ANZ-W).

⁶⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁴⁸ Royal Commission Middle Island Minutes of Evidence, Henley 26/2/1891, p.16, MA 72/11, (ANZ-W). Report by Alexander Mackay to Native Minister 16/7/1891, p.22, MA 72/11, (ANZ-W).

The kāika families were keen to maintain their access to the inland waterways, particularly Tatawai, because it was a significant source of food and of raw materials essential to cultural practices.⁶⁴⁹ According to Anderson, eighteenth and nineteenth century Taieri was a place where peninsula Kāi Tahu would migrate, to obtain food for winter, as it was rich in tuna/eels, was a centre of duck-hunting and weka-hunting, and of tī-sugar production.⁶⁵⁰ The Taieri River and the inland lakes provided abundant fish life such as pātiki/flounder and inaka/whitebait.⁶⁵¹ In addition, the Taieri Plain contained the only large swamps south of the Waitaki River which grew both flax and raupo, thereby drawing local and migratory Kāi Tahu families into economic activities such as flax cutting, retting, drying and weaving.⁶⁵² Evidence before the Waitangi Tribunal in respect of the Kāi Tahu claim indicates the significance of the Taieri district, with its easily accessible lakes and river system in particular, as a fishing area and general source of mahika kai. A letter from Riria Potiki and four others to the Minister of Native Affairs in July 1896 applying for railway tickets to enable them to travel more easily to traditional sites gives some indication of the continued importance of the Taieri district as a site of mahika kai. The letter indicates that along with Maranuku and Mātaura, the Taieri was essential to customary food gathering practices for tuna/eels, kanakana/lamprey and titi/muttonbirds.⁶⁵³ The gathering of food in this region remained important in the twentieth century. Indeed, Herries Beattie's informant Mrs. Wesley recollected that the Taieri River was a favoured place to collect kanakana/lamprey.⁶⁵⁴

⁶⁴⁹ Wilson, 2002, p. 1.

⁶⁵⁰ Atholl Anderson, *Otakou Evidence for the Ngai Tahu Claim before the Waitangi Tribunal*, November 1987, (Wai 27), pp. 6-7.

⁶⁵¹ Gail Tipa, *Environmental performance indicators: Taieri River Case Study*, (Wellington, Ministry for the Environment, 1999), p. 6.

⁶⁵² G. F. Davis, "Old Identities and New Iniquities: The Taieri Plain in Otago Province, 1770-1870," (MA, University of Otago, 1974), p. 58.

⁶⁵³ Riria Potiki to Minister of Native Affairs, 4 July 1896, cited in Evidence of Tony Walzl before the Waitangi Tribunal (Wai-27) *Ngai Tahu Fishing 1840-1908*, (Doc S7), p. 125.

⁶⁵⁴ General Maori Information, p. 6, PC-173, (HL).

Kāika families undertook regular trips to the inland lakes for food gathering. Mere Kui used to take her children to Tatawai and Waihola where they camped for three days spearing pātiki/flounder and tuna/eels.⁶⁵⁵ In the early twentieth century, tuna/eel and inaka/whitebait were a staple part of their diet. It was a common sight to see eels strung on the tree outside Tiaki Kona's house on the kāika for drying.⁶⁵⁶ Before restrictions on nets were introduced, the kāika families used to set their whitebait nets in the river permanently.⁶⁵⁷ According to Kath Hislop 'most kaik people did this', in conjunction with fishing for patiki/flounder by Elizabeth Garth, Helen Brown, and Mere Tanner.⁶⁵⁸ Thomas Brown records that when work on local farms was scarce, "the Kaik people would often go to the lakes to spear eels," and catch trout and game.⁶⁵⁹ Along with lakes Waihola and Waipori, Tatawai attracted native birds which were caught in a "duck drive." Peter Leitch, schoolmaster at Otokia School between 1859 and 1871 recounted that the kāika families "started out at daybreak in canoes and dugouts rounding up the young and moulting paradise ducks unable to fly. ... They ran the birds into a corner and slew them with waddies, getting between 600 and 700."⁶⁶⁰

Over the late nineteenth century, a time when the Taieri Kāi Tahu and mixed descent population underwent growth and when the community had strong leadership, their vigilance with regards to the maintenance of Lake Tatawai saw them achieve a major success in its gazettement as a fishing reserve in 1901 under the Public Reserves Act 1881. Under that proclamation, the 121 acres of Lake Tatawai was reserved for fishing purposes, while a landing reserve was set aside under the Lands Act 1892 for 'the use of aboriginal natives' was set aside alongside the lake consisting of four acres and two perches.⁶⁶¹ From this time the Taieri families began to organize to protect

⁶⁵⁵ Smith, 1941, p. 13.

⁶⁵⁶ Kath Hislop, 6/4/1994, Bill Dacker Oral History Collection, Dunedin Public Library, (DPL).

⁶⁵⁷ L. B. Campbell to Under-Secretary, Native Department, 14/8/1941 in David Armstrong, *Supporting Papers*, S10 Vol. 2, Crown Papers, (Wai-27).

⁶⁵⁸ Hislop, 6/4/1994.

⁶⁵⁹ Brown MS, unpaginated.

⁶⁶⁰ 'Mostly Maori Matters,' p. 10, PC-195, (HL).

⁶⁶¹ *New Zealand Gazette*, 10/1/1901, No. 4, p. 71; *New Zealand Gazette*, 28/3/1901, No. 31, p. 779.

Tatawai. On the advice of Alexander Mackay, the community set up a committee of trustees. John Connor, George Brown, Henry Martin, William Palmer and Robert Bryant were appointed by the community as trustees of Lake Tatawai to protect the lake and to gather the yearly rent from the local authorities.⁶⁶² The rent money was used to finance battles to keep the lake in future years, and to maintain culturally significant sites such as the urupā.⁶⁶³

In 1901, MHR for Southern Māori Tame Parata stated before the House that these reserved areas should be clarified and amended as Taieri Kāi Tahu found it difficult to access the reserve and the lake.⁶⁶⁴ In response, the Minister of Lands stated that the four acre landing reserve was already specifically set aside for Taieri families. However, he did acknowledge that the first gazette notice stated Tatawai was merely set aside as a fishing reserve without acknowledging “it was to be confined to aboriginal natives.”⁶⁶⁵ As a result in 1902, the specific purposes of the reserves and their beneficiaries were further clarified and defined under the Public Reserves Act 1881. The second gazette notice specified that the landing reserve was for “the use of the aboriginal natives residing in the Taieri Maori Village” and the lake, it was clearly stated, was reserved for fishing purposes specifically for Kāi Tahu resident at this settlement.⁶⁶⁶ As will be seen in Chapter Seven, the definition of the kāika families as of mixed descent played a role in the loss of Tatawai by 1920. Indeed, perception of the population as largely ‘European’ in ‘blood’ and manner had serious implications for attempts to prevent the drainage of the wetland system by 1920.

As early as 1903, two years after Tatawai had been set aside as a fishing reserve, Parata sought an assurance of its protection from the Minister of Lands as he “had received many communications from Natives in the locality stating that the local body desired to appropriate this lake.”⁶⁶⁷ Taieri families had to contend with a host of

⁶⁶² Connor to Alexander Mackay 13/5/1901, MLC 8/1, (ANZ-W).

⁶⁶³ Tatawai Lake (Committee) Book, 7/6/1916, unpaginated, (Ted Palmer Collection).

⁶⁶⁴ NZPD, 1901, Vol. 119, p. 156.

⁶⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶⁶ *New Zealand Gazette*, 9/1/1902, No. 2, p. 12.

⁶⁶⁷ NZPD, 1903, Vol. 124, p. 424.

local drainage boards, river boards and the Taieri County Council from 1900 until 1920 which all pressed, at various times, for the drainage of Lake Tatawai. Over this period these bodies often ignored the protected fishing rights of the local community. In a 1911 debate before the House over the Taieri Land Drainage Bill, Parata stated that the “[Taieri Drainage] Board had been trying to put a drain through this lake [Tatawai], and had already let water into it, causing damage to the lake, ... [and their work] had been silting up the river and flooding the Natives out of their homes in times of flood.”⁶⁶⁸ These local bodies contributed to the fear of local Kāi Tahu that their lake was in danger of being lost. This dominated their correspondence with their local MHR Tame Parata and letters to Alexander Mackay in the first decades of the twentieth century and took place in a context of legislating for the drainage of Tatawai.

From 1907, under the Taieri Land Drainage Act which was designed to simplify the management of drainage on the Taieri, the issue of flooding and the need for drainage of the plain was of local and national importance. The 1907 Act was the outcome of the 1906 Taieri River Commission which recommended the centralization of drainage management into one board. The beds of lakes Waihola and Waipori were vested in the new Taieri Drainage Board which was empowered to grant leases, and to set the rent for local farmers and to undertake works on the lakes for the purposes of flood control.⁶⁶⁹

In 1909 a petition of local settlers regarding the management of drainage on the plain was the subject of discussion as was a petition of Tieke Kona and 22 others to the Lands Committee regarding the matter of drainage of Lake Tatawai.⁶⁷⁰ Kona’s petition resulted in official confirmation that the lake of 121 acres and the four acre landing reserve had been reserved for fishing purposes for the use of Kāi Tahu residing at ‘Taieri Maori Village.’⁶⁷¹ The result of the petition by settlers was the

⁶⁶⁸ *NZPD*, 1911, Vol. 156, p. 1301.

⁶⁶⁹ S 14, Taieri Land Drainage Bill 1907, *New Zealand Statutes 1907*, p. 200. Wilson, p. 19.

⁶⁷⁰ *NZPD*, 1909, Vol. 148, p. 1283.

⁶⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 747.

sitting of the Lands Committee, the hearing of evidence at Mosgiel in 1909, and eventually the passing of the Taieri Land Drainage Act in 1910.

The 1910 Act divided the Taieri drainage district into two and a new board called the Western Taieri Land Drainage Board was established to deal with the lands on the west of the river while the Taieri County Council controlled the eastern side of the river. The passage of this bill in the House was of concern to Parata. He argued their land was often under flood as the “work of the Drainage Board had been silting up the river and flooding the Natives out of their homes in times of flood.”⁶⁷² Therefore, they derived no benefit from a rating system designed to finance a flood protection and drainage scheme that did not protect them or their land.

Lake Tatawai came under further danger of destruction under the Taieri Land Drainage Bill of 1912 which included a clause promoting the cutting of a channel into lakes Waipori and Waihola. In particular, discussion of the Bill centred on Clause Eight which protected Kāi Tahu fishing rights at the lake and which had been struck out by the Legislative Council. The Council objected to its inclusion “because that clause would allow the whole drainage of the Taieri Plain to be held up.”⁶⁷³ Parata, however, argued in the Legislative Council for the importance of including this clause in the bill. If it was struck out, native fishing rights to the lake would no longer be protected. The loss of such rights meant the loss of the lake as a source of food.⁶⁷⁴ Discussion in the House centred on the loss of fishing rights which might follow from the drainage scheme. Support for the retention of the clause centred on the recognition that fishing rights to Tatawai were not only of economic importance but represented the maintenance of cultural links, and by extension Kāi Tahu identity. As a result, the clause which read: “Nothing in this Act shall be deemed or be allowed to prejudicially affect Native fishing-rights over Lake Tatawai which may exist at the passing of this Act”, was retained in the Act of 1912.⁶⁷⁵ The inclusion of Clause Eight in the 1912

⁶⁷² NZPD, 1911, Vol. 156, p. 1301.

⁶⁷³ NZPD, 1912, Vol. 161, p. 535.

⁶⁷⁴ NZPD, 1912, Vol. 161, p. 535.

⁶⁷⁵ S 9, Taieri Land Drainage Act 1912, *New Zealand Statutes 1912*, p. 377.

Act reflected the importance of Tatawai and strength of the kāika families in the early decades of the twentieth century.

A stable population, strong leadership and a keen interest in national politics drove the protest against the loss of Tatawai. This continued after 1912. Indeed, the families organized to defend Tatawai from the incursion of drainage in 1914. In June of that year a committee was formed to use the rent money from the reserved ground at the lake to pay Robert Bryant and George Martin fifteen shillings each “in connection with Tatawai Lake business.”⁶⁷⁶ The business referred to was to finance a deputation to meet with the Native Minister.⁶⁷⁷ The vigilance evident in protecting Tatawai drew upon a strong population and a confident Kāi Tahu identity that was immersed and experienced by this point in Kāi Tahu politics.

South Island Landless Natives Act, 1906

While maintaining access to mahika kai located the kāika families within Kāi Tahu politics and identity, the question of ‘landless natives’ that arose out of Alexander Mackay’s Middle Island Native Land Claims Commission 1891 highlights their mixed descent status but positions Maitapapa as a Kāi Tahu community. At Taieri, 24 adults were listed as having no land, ten of whom were women; twenty were ‘insufficiently provided’ with land, eleven of whom were women; and only six persons owned land over 50 acres.⁶⁷⁸ Overall, 88 percent of people at Taieri were either landless or owned insufficient lands for their sustenance, comparable with the wider Kāi Tahu rates which hovered around 90 percent.⁶⁷⁹ This high rate of landlessness placed the community within the wider Kāi Tahu context and experience, but Mackay’s investigation revealed that many landless Kāi Tahu were also of mixed descent. Under the South Island Landless Natives Act (SILNA) 1906 the government awarded crown grants to landless Kāi Tahu. The granting of lands under this act was

⁶⁷⁶ Tatawai Lake (Committee) Book, 13/6/1914, unpaginated, (Ted Palmer Collection).

⁶⁷⁷ Tatawai Lake (Committee) Book, 15/6/1914 and 10/10/1914, unpaginated, (Ted Palmer Collection).

⁶⁷⁸ *AJHR*, G-7, 1891, pp. 16, 20, 23, 25, 30-31.

⁶⁷⁹ Bill Dacker, *The Pain and the Love*, (Dunedin, University of Otago Press, 1994), pp. 73-74.

the culmination of over a decade of investigation by Alexander Mackay, S. Percy Smith and Tame Parata, involving the identification of all Kāi Tahu families who were without land.

Like the Half-Caste Crown Grant Acts of the 1870s and 1880s, the land awarded was of a varied nature. Much of the land was located in Southland, particularly at Stewart Island, Waiau, Lord's River, Tautuku and Wanaka. According to McAuslin, the land awarded under the 1906 Act was meant to provide opportunities for settlement (farmable land) and monetary compensation (remote bushland) through timber extraction.⁶⁸⁰ However, the lands were of poor quality or inaccessible and the majority of the land blocks were unsuitable for settlement. From the 1890s, kāika families took a keen interest in the awarding of these lands, sending representatives to examine the parcels set aside. Tiaki Kona's letter to Tame Parata seeking information on the progress of the selection of the SILNA lands enabled him to report on his own investigations:

How are you getting on with the Land for the Maoris, that land down at the Waiau is too far. In allowing 50 acres in these outlandish places it is only equal to about 4 or 5 [acres] close to their homes, & besides as the old people dying off it simply means that the rising generations will go this land to earn a living thus leaving the old kaiks to die out. Besides this land at Caitlins the Natives will not be able to get any return for years & years. It would have been better if the Govmt has given the Maoris 2 or 3 acres in one of these estates they are always buying. Try and get it fixed up at once [sic].⁶⁸¹

In his forthright criticism of the government's choice of land and his recommendation that other lands be chosen, Kona identified the way in which the granting of SILNA lands in remote areas compounded the difficulties that small communities such as Maitapapa faced. Any attempt to keep the community viable was undermined by land grants situated in remote areas in combination with the loss of kaumātua, the poor nature of their reserve land and the work of the Native Land Court. At Taieri,

⁶⁸⁰ Stephen McAuslin, "Colour legislation in New Zealand? The South Island Landless Natives Act, 1906," (BA (Hons) Research Essay, University of Otago, 2001), p. 1.

⁶⁸¹ John Connor to Tame Parata 23/7/1899, LS 1/41749 (Box 398), (ANZ-W).

intermarriage in concert with the preceding factors indeed left ‘the old kaiks to die out.’

In order to maintain community links the Taieri families sought the allocation of SILNA blocks in family groups from the late nineteenth century. The Taieri Rūnaka resolved in 1893:

We, the people of Taieri, who are not provided with land are willing to accept the land the Crown is giving, as indicated in the plans at Waiau, Rotohapa, Tautuku, and other localities, and Wanaka. If there is not enough to satisfy each man, woman, and child’s share, we will absorb all those lands. A delegate from the Taieri Runanga has been to inspect those lands, and in his opinion they are of a fair character. 1. We, we the persons who are unprovided with land (list attached), would ask the Government to allot the shares in equal proportions for each man, woman and child, so that the share will not be less than those allotted to male adults, because owing to the character of the land they cannot be supported by a less quantity. 2. We apply to Government to block out the land for the Taieri people, who are unprovided with land, that each family may have their land together in the Waiau, Tautuku, Rotohapa, and Wanaka Blocks.⁶⁸²

The specific mention made of blocks of land was based on cultural significance and population size. With a population of 170 people in 1893, the Tautuku land with “plenty of good creeks” and “easily divided into fair sized sections for families” was the preferred option for allocation.⁶⁸³ The importance of family allocations is a reflection of the demographic nature of this community in the late nineteenth century and into the first decade of the twentieth century, one consisting of large families living on a small reserve. In discussions of allocations, the community sought a better deal for young families objecting to the acreage allotted “as they considered that young married men with families ought to have as much land as old people; men, say from twenty five to thirty years of age with families should come in as old people and have their fifty acres.”⁶⁸⁴

⁶⁸² Report from the Taieri Runanga to the Minister for Native Affairs, 25/4/1893, p. 53, Box 2, Folder 15, No. 15, W. A. Taylor Papers, (CM).

⁶⁸³ John Connor to Native Minister, 21/3/1893, in Supporting Papers to Evidence of David Armstrong, Vol. 9, Part 1, Document 14, Crown Papers (Wai-27).

⁶⁸⁴ Connor to Cadman, 29/12/1892, pp. 46-47, Box 2, Folder 15, No. 15, W. A. Taylor Papers, (CM).

In 1908 a list of those Kāi Tahu granted SILNA land under the 1906 Act was published in the *New Zealand Gazette*. Appendix Five shows those listed as living at Taieri in 1908 and the blocks of SILNA land in which they were awarded an interest. Land allocations in Appendix Five reflect the desire to be awarded land in family blocks in the Rowallan and Waitutu awards. The determination to remain a community under SILNA land grants indicate that kinship and community was of key importance to the history of the Taieri kāika in the late nineteenth and early years of the twentieth century. Kath Hislop remembers that the Wellman, Brown, Garth, Drummond, Hanna, Tanner, Matene and Sherburd families along with Tiaki Kona resided at the kāika at this time.⁶⁸⁵ In summarizing that there were ‘quite a few there then’ Hislop illustrates that the foundation and strength of the community lay in its families who were led by confident and able leaders and who were aligned with the Kāi Tahu polity.

Conclusion

The ultimate result of the demographic recovery represented in the 1891 Census of Kāi Tahu settlements was seen in the social and cultural activities at the kāika. Weddings, tangi and the erection of Te Waipounamu Hall in 1901 were all symbolic of the bi-cultural nature of the community in which the families lived. In evidence presented before the 1891 Commission, the vigilance exerted in the retention of Tatawai and the wetland system and the presence of Taieri voices in wider Kāi Tahu politics situates the families within a Kāi Tahu identity. However, these recoveries were underpinned by tensions centred on land. In a period when the population was growing, the poor nature of land on the reserve was further exposed. Constant cropping alongside the impact of stock on the soil rendered the land uneconomic, and forced continued reliance on seasonal labour for survival. Inter-marriage in combination with evident poverty from living on inadequate reserve

⁶⁸⁵ Hislop, 6/4/1994.

land and an already present trend to migrate away from the community laid the basis for a pattern of rapid of permanent outward migration in the post World War One era.

7

MIGRATIONS, 1916-1926

Introduction

At lower Taieri, sustained intermarriage contributed to the development of two groups of ‘half-castes’: the elite who lived beyond the boundaries of the kāika and whose children tended to marry ‘out’ to Pākehā, and those families resident at the kāika, who constituted the ‘walking working-class’⁶⁸⁶ following the shearing and harvesting trails of Otago. The result was the development of two mixed descent groups with distinct identities: those who remained at the kāika and were clearly aligned with Kāi Tahu identity and those who moved away and integrated into Pākehā communities. This chapter examines the factors that influenced rapid and complete outward migration and overall loss of the community over the period 1916 to 1926. It investigates the social and cultural impact of long-term migration on the small community of Maitapapa over a ten year period. The chapter begins by charting the patterns of migration away from Maitapapa and locates these movements beyond the boundary of the reserve within intermarriage and the development of a largely ‘quarter-caste’ population by 1915. Movement away from the kāika represented the loss of people from the community and the lessening of cultural ties to Maitapapa specifically and Kāi Tahu more generally. Assisted by education and Pākehā physical appearance these families assimilated into mainstream society. Thus, the relationship between ‘European’ appearance, which helped to construct a perception of the families as not authentically Māori, and outward migration and cultural loss, is investigated. The pattern of migration over the period 1916 to 1926 is then examined. Finally, the chapter charts the impacts of these migrations, focussing on Te Waipounamu Hall, Taieri Ferry School, the loss of language and Lake Tatawai. The

⁶⁸⁶ Nelson Tainui, 1/10/2002.

chapter asks to what extent these losses were symbolic of the erosion of kin and community ties to Maitapapa and ultimately of Kāi Tahu identity.

A Declining Community

While a core community characterized by a largely mixed descent demographic had become established at the Taieri Native Reserve by 1915, migrations away from the area were already underway. National statistics up to 1911 revealed a stable population, but they also indicated migration in the form of a steady decline in the numbers resident at the kāika. The catalyst for migration was social, cultural and economic in character. From the 1850s, the patriarchal pattern of intermarriage saw the loss of women from the community. This was a long-term pattern which continued into the twentieth century, contributing to a growing number of families who lived beyond the boundaries of the reserve and had little interaction with Kāi Tahu culture and identity. However, a stable population remained at the reserve over the period 1890 to 1915. A strong leadership, the building of Te Waipounamu Hall, the battle to maintain access to Lake Tatawai and clearly expressed Kāi Tahu identity alongside the capital value figures, demonstrate that the families desired to live on and cultivate their land. Despite this, the Native Land Court process of succession began to have an impact on the ability of the families to economically use their land. A generation of children from large families who were of ‘quarter-caste’ descent came into adulthood in the first decades of the twentieth century and many left the community looking for social and economic opportunity. This process of movement away from the kaika was rapid and complete by the mid 1920s.

By 1920, Kath Hislop recalls that many of the kāika families had left and that a number of the houses on the kāika were ‘empty.’ While Elizabeth Garth, William Brown and Betsy and Doug Dawson remained at the kāika, few returned there to live. Only Jessie Hanna returned to the settlement from Dunedin on the death of her mother in 1920, shifting into the old homestead with a young family, but the Drummonds’

place and the Martin home were ‘empty.’⁶⁸⁷ Herries Beattie found the Martin family living at Maitapapa in February 1915, but by 1918 they had removed to Tuahiwi in Canterbury where he found them living in a “comfortable house.”⁶⁸⁸ It was at Tuahiwi that Mere Hinehou, George Martin, Henry Martin and his wife Ripeka passed away.⁶⁸⁹ At the probating of their mother’s estate in 1918, the Wellman children were already highly mobile, having moved away from the kāika in pursuit of economic opportunity. John Wellman was a fishmonger and poulterer in Dunedin, William was working as a rabbit agent at Balclutha, Charles was a sawmill hand at Paeroa, and George a fitter in Dunedin.⁶⁹⁰ Only Elizabeth and her husband John Drummond, a labourer, were still located at Maitapapa. Ten years later section A13 of the reserve was sold by its sixteen owners to Harriet Crossan for 90 pounds. The proxy forms show that the owners were scattered over the country including Timaru, Invercargill, Pukekohe, and Fielding.⁶⁹¹

From the 1850s intermarriage had seen a number of kāika women move to the margins of the reserve. But from the 1890s, the marriage and settlement patterns of kāika women had shifted to encompass migration into the wider Otago district and beyond. Emma Jane Palmer married Irish-born Scotsman George Adams in 1892 at Dunedin. They eventually moved to Fielding where they farmed a small property and raised a family of eight.⁶⁹² By the late 1890s, Harriet Bishop, formerly Palmer, was living at Waitahuna.⁶⁹³ Mary Elizabeth Overton married John Stevenson in 1893 at

⁶⁸⁷ Kath Hislop, 6/4/1994, Bill Dacker Oral History Collection (DPL).

⁶⁸⁸ General Maori Information Book 3, p. 9, PC-174, (HL).

⁶⁸⁹ Death Certificates: Ripeka Martin 1924/712; Teoti Edwin Matene 17/11/1941, Maori Register No: 2137. Succession to Ripeka Martin, 13/6/1924, SIMB 23, p. 87. Succession to Mere Hinehou, 5/11/1924, SIMB 25, p. 254. Succession to Teoti Matene, 17/2/1947, SIMB 32, p. 391. Succession to Henare Matene, 17/2/1947, SIMB 32, p. 391. Tuahiwi Maori Cemetery, Transcript of Headstones, p. 5, (CPL). Death Notice, George Edwin Martin, *The Press*, 18/11/1941, p. 1.

⁶⁹⁰ Ani Wellman, 1918, DAAC D239 178 4689, (ANZ-D).

⁶⁹¹ Report of the Board Representative in the matter of Taieri A13, 5/12/1929, MLC AccW2218 Box 26 n. 125, (ANZ-W).

⁶⁹² Marriage Certificate: Emma Jane Palmer to George Adams 1892/769. Death Certificate: Emma Jane Adams 1933/2478. Pam Colpman to Angela Wanhalla, undated.

⁶⁹³ Marriage of Harriet Palmer to Stephen Bishop, 11/9/1875, Knox Church Marriage Register Vol. 1: 1874-1876, p. 197, (HL). Marriage Certificate: Harriet Palmer to Stephen Bishop 1875/2111. Waitahuna Gully and Waitahuna Schools: An Alphabetical Listing of Admission, Progress, Withdrawal Registers, 1875-1920, p.7 (HL). Death Certificate: Stephen Bishop, 1901/2239.

Berwick. After their marriage the Stevensons resided in Caversham where John was a clerk, but by 1909 they had moved to Invercargill where John was recorded as a warehouseman.⁶⁹⁴ Jane Campbell and Isaac Yorston farmed at Waihola until Isaac's death from stomach cancer in 1911, leaving Jane with eight children.⁶⁹⁵ Many of these families never returned to the kāika.

The nature of the colonial economy, availability of land, and access to material resources influenced the settlement patterns of men such as George Palmer and Thomas Crane. George Palmer married Mary List, and eventually farmed a property at Edendale in Southland, the fourteenth largest estate broken up under the Liberal Government between 1892 and 1912.⁶⁹⁶ Prior to their move south, George and Mary resided at Allanton, East Taieri where George worked as a farm labourer.⁶⁹⁷ Thomas Crane worked as an engine driver at Waihola before eventually moving to Lochiel around the turn of the twentieth century where he farmed a property.⁶⁹⁸ William Bryant moved to Otokia where he engaged in farming events, was an elder in the Brethren church and in 1902 was appointed the secretary and treasurer of the Henley School Committee.⁶⁹⁹ Prior to achieving a measure of respectability and social standing through his farming activities, the birth certificates of his children illustrate his occupational pathways, beginning as a labourer at Taieri Ferry and Inchelutha in

⁶⁹⁴ Marriage Certificate: Mary Elizabeth Overton to John Stevenson 1893/3739. Birth Certificates: Dora Constance Stevenson 1894/15210; Gertrude Mary Stevenson 1896/13913; Florence Harriet Stevenson 1900/2189; Ian Brandon Stevenson 1910/6484. Death Certificate: Mary Elizabeth Stevenson 1951/29244.

⁶⁹⁵ Death Certificates: Isaac Marwick Yorston 1911/5351; Jane Ann Yorston 1956/25233. Stuart, 1981, p. 51.

⁶⁹⁶ Tom Brooking, *Lands for the People? The Highland Clearances and the Colonisation of New Zealand: A Biography of John McKenzie*, (Dunedin, University of Otago Press, 1996), pp. 278-279. Also see Roger Kellaway, "The changing agricultural geography of Southland, 1878-1940," (MA, Geography, University of Canterbury, 1970).

⁶⁹⁷ Allanton (Greytown) School: Alphabetical Listing of Admission, Progress, Withdrawal Registers, 1873-1920, p. 18, (HL). Birth Certificates: Hannah Palmer 1885/13288; Benjamin Palmer 1887/12583; Henry Edward Palmer 1893/4932. Death Certificate: George Palmer 1929/8739. Succession to George Palmer, SIMB 26, p. 77.

⁶⁹⁸ Marriage Certificate: Thomas Crane to Ellen Payne 1888/1812. Birth Certificate: James George Crane 1900/1149. Death Certificate: Thomas John Crane 1938/2193.

⁶⁹⁹ Marriage Certificate: William Bryant to Fanny Jane Horne 1893/61/856. Henley School Committee Minute Book 1890-1915, 14/6/1902, AG-110-10, (HL).

the early 1890s before taking up farming at Momona in 1899.⁷⁰⁰ William Palmer married Jessie Clifford in 1884, and their large family settled at Palmerston around the turn of the twentieth century, having previously lived at the nearby settlements of Goodwood and Bushey.⁷⁰¹ James Palmer married into the Reids, a local farming family, working as a storekeeper at Outram and a carpenter at Dannevirke where he died in 1903.⁷⁰²

These patterns of outward migration of the 1890s and early twentieth century transformed into a rapid wholesale migration over a ten year period from 1916 to 1926. The 1916 census confirms a very small Kāi Tahu population at Taieri. This was the lowest recorded Kāi Tahu population since the first national census in 1874.⁷⁰³ The 1916 census recorded the Taieri Māori population as constituting only three people: one woman aged between ten and fifteen; one woman aged between fifteen and twenty; and one woman aged twenty to 25.⁷⁰⁴ No mixed descent population was recorded either 'living as Māori' or 'living as European'. Atholl Anderson states that a change in the manner of enumeration of the Māori census could be one explanation for the decline in population recorded for Kāi Tahu in general in 1916. It was in this year that Māori in the South Island were enumerated within the general census, and thus, local Māori sub-enumerators were replaced by Pākehā enumerators of Māori settlements.⁷⁰⁵

The 1918 *Wise's Directory* listing illuminates the composition of the population at Henley, with only George Brown senior, William Brown, Tiaki Kona, Benjamin Overton, and Alexander Dickson remaining alongside those who married

⁷⁰⁰ Birth Certificates: Fanny Beulah Bryant 1894/1097; Ida Mary Bryant 1896/12382; William Joseph Bryant 1899/2257; Henry Thomas Bryant 1902/5271; Edward Arthur Bryant 1905/9118; Charles Richard Palmer Bryant 1910/3045.

⁷⁰¹ Palmerston Primary School: Alphabetical Transcription of Admission, Progress, Withdrawal Registers, 1879-1920, pp. 86-87, (HL). Death Certificate: William Palmer 1934/4555.

⁷⁰² Marriage of James Henry Palmer to Agnes Reid, 8/2/1884, Knox Church Marriage Register, Vol. 2: 1880-1891, p. 379, (HL). Marriage Certificate: James Palmer to Agnes Reid 1884/703. Birth Certificate: Arthur James Reid Palmer 1884/3283. Death Certificate: James Henry Palmer 1903/235.

⁷⁰³ L. D. B. Heenan, "The Changing South Island Maori Population," *New Zealand Geographer*, 22, 2, 1966, p. 126.

⁷⁰⁴ *Results of a Census of the Dominion of New Zealand taken for the night of the 15th October 1916*, (Wellington, Government Printer, 1918), Appendix A, p. ix.

⁷⁰⁵ Atholl Anderson, *Race against time*, (Dunedin, Hocken Library, 1991), p. 20.

‘in’: Richard Crossan and John Drummond.⁷⁰⁶ The *Directory* recorded only the male head of households. Mere Kui Tanner and Elizabeth Garth as well as Elizabeth Crane can be added to the 1918 list. Along with these women, the wives of the men listed formed the nucleus of a small mixed community. These included Helen Brown, Harriet Crossan formerly Overton and Elizabeth Drummond formerly Wellman. Census data confirms that many families had migrated to other areas of the Otago province or elsewhere. The national census of 1921 records a total Māori population of 30 individuals at Taieri. Given the age of the residents, with eighteen people aged twenty and under; nine aged between 21 and 50, and three aged between 55 and 70 plus years, there were at least four to five families resident at the kāika.⁷⁰⁷ By the national census of 1926, only seven Māori were recorded as living at Taieri, three of whom were men and four were women.⁷⁰⁸

A pattern of migration away from the kāika is indicated by place of marriage. The marriage tables illustrate movement to the outlying river settlements such as Waihola, Otokia and Taieri Mouth which characterized mobility patterns over the nineteenth century has been replaced by a tendency to migrate to larger towns, particularly for men. The majority of weddings took place in small towns such as Ashburton and Waitahuna and increasingly in the cities of Dunedin and Christchurch. The tables show a continuing trend to marry out for women and an increasing trend for men to do the same.

The marriages in Tables Thirteen and Fourteen indicate a number of trends. First, Maitapapa or Henley is no longer the central site of marriage that it was in the period 1890 to 1915. Indeed, not one marriage took place at the kāika over the ten year period under study in this chapter. Secondly, the majority of people marrying were of ‘quarter-caste’ status or less. Only three people of ‘half-caste’ status married in this ten year period, six were ‘quarter-caste’ and the majority were ‘one-eighth-

⁷⁰⁶ *Wise’s Directory 1918*, p. 485.

⁷⁰⁷ *Results of a Census of the Dominion of New Zealand taken for the night of 17th April 1921*, (Wellington, Government Printer, 1922, Appendix A: Maori Census, p. 6.

⁷⁰⁸ *Dominion of New Zealand Population Census 1926*, Volume XIV, p. 19.

caste'. By 1923, a person of one-sixteenth descent was recorded as having married. In this ten year period, it was also less likely that marriage into Kāi Tahu was taking place, with only two such cases amongst former Taieri families.

Table 13: Marriages (Maitapapa Women): 1916-1926

Name	'Race'	Partner	Occupation	Birthplace	Year	Place
Ngahui Brown	Half	David Connell		Owaka	1920	Dunedin
Mary Smith	Eighth	John Cunningham	Farmer	Hillend	1921	Barnago
Dorothy Wellman	Eighth	David Wilson	Woolsorter	Wakanui	1921	Ashburton
Betsy Smith	Half	Walter Dawson*	Labourer	Stewart Island	1922	Dunedin
Eileen Crane	Quarter	James Smith	Labourer	Waiholā	1923	Waiholā
Dora Stevenson	Sixteenth	Leonard Lopdell	Comm. Traveller	Invercargill	1923	Invercargill
Ani Sherburd	Eighth	Thomas Garth	NZR Inspector	Dunedin	1925	Invercargill
Emma Brown	Quarter	William Harte			1925	Christchurch

* Kāi Tahu descent

Source: Registered Marriage Certificates, (BDM).

Table 14: Marriages (Maitapapa Men): 1916-1926

Name	'Race'	Partner	Occupation	Birthplace	Year	Place
Thomas Overton	Eighth	Eva Carson		Auckland	1916	Dunedin
Ernest Sherburd	Quarter	Isabella Mackie	Domestic	Mosgiel	1916	Mosgiel
Joseph Campbell	Quarter	Evelyn Corsan		Rimu	1919	Hokitika
George Wellman	Quarter	Ethel Smith		Scotland	1919	Abbotsford
Thomas Bryant	Eighth	Mary Ann Bates*		Waikouaiti	1920	Dunedin
Benjamin Palmer	Eighth	Helen Wilson			1920	Seaward Downs
George Brown	Half	Brenda Farmer		Sydney	1921	Sydney
William Wellman	Quarter	Elsie Rendall			1921	Lumsden
Oliver Palmer	Eighth	Mabel Sinclair	Wool Mill Hand	Waiholā	1922	Waiholā
Arthur Dickson	Eighth	Margaret Shaw		Naseby	1923	Dunedin
William Crane	Quarter	Ellen Ryan	Domestic	Waitahuna	1923	Waitahuna
J A Crane	Quarter	Mary Lenz	Domestic	Waitahuna	1923	Waitahuna
John Sherburd	Eighth	Madeline Adie			1925	Dunedin
George Bryant	Eighth	Janet Meek			1926	Dunedin

* Kāi Tahu descent

Source: Registered Marriage Certificates (BDM).

In the early decades of the twentieth century, the kāika families slowly moved away from Maitapapa, often in order to enhance their opportunities to find employment. Elizabeth Rangi believes that the lack of employment at lower Taieri was a strong motivating factor in migrations, in combination with the fact that the “families were so large then.”⁷⁰⁹ A number of men worked for New Zealand Railways from the turn of the twentieth century including William Sherburd, Travis Brown, James Brown, Ernest Sherburd and Thomas Garth. This work took them across the country, with few coming back to Maitapapa to settle. Ernest Sherburd worked as a telegraphist and clerk for New Zealand Railways (NZR) in Invercargill and Gore until his retirement.⁷¹⁰ Thomas Garth worked in Christchurch and Dunedin.⁷¹¹ Charles Wellman and George Wellman both worked for NZR in Auckland and Dunedin respectively.⁷¹² James Brown, who married Dorothy Parker, lived in Auckland until his retirement from NZR, after which he moved to Dunedin.⁷¹³ Travis worked at Invercargill, Christchurch, Dunsandel and Little River where he became station master before settling in Ashburton.⁷¹⁴ George Overton was an Inspector of Schools in Otago and Nelson and his brother Charles owned a flaxmill at Henley before becoming a company clerk at Green Island.⁷¹⁵ Migration away from Maitapapa in pursuit of economic opportunity reflects the reduced importance of the farming economy in people’s lives as urbanization took hold in New Zealand.

⁷⁰⁹ Elizabeth Rangi to Angela Wanhalla, undated, p. 5.

⁷¹⁰ Marriage Certificate: Ernest Henry Connor Sherburd to Isabella Mackie 1916/3452. Death Certificate: Ernest Henry Connor Sherburd 1949/23819.

⁷¹¹ Thomas Garth Service Schedule, R 13/64, (ANZ).

⁷¹² Death Certificate: Charles Martin Wellman 1939/16371. Succession to Charles Martin Wellman, SIMB 30, p. 302. Marriage Certificate: George Christie Wellman to Ethel Smith 1919/4565.

⁷¹³ Death Certificate: James Edwin Brown 1962/5396.

⁷¹⁴ Death Certificate: Travis Dalziel Pahikora Brown 1952/19801. Death Notice, *The Press*, 27/3/1952, p. 1. Travis Dalziel Brown Service Schedule, R 13/21, (ANZ-W).

⁷¹⁵ Marriage Certificate: Charles Hezekiah Overton to Margaret Chalmers 1907/8068. ‘Valedictory,’ *Otago Daily Times*, 21/2/1938, p. 12. Death Certificates: George Ernest Overton 1966/4319; Charles Hezekiah Overton 1967/3757.

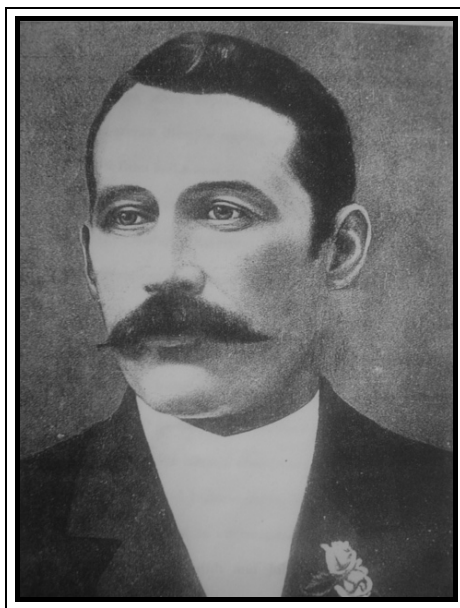


Illustration 21: William George Sherburd.

Source: Jenny Garth (Personal Collection).

Agricultural employment also remained an important catalyst for migration as it was in the 1890s. There were two distinct groups: those who farmed at the reserve and the farm labourers, who moved beyond the boundaries of the reserve in search of employment. Many of those who left the kāika in search of agricultural employment took up small farm estates, consolidating their migration away from Maitapapa. James Smith, for instance, who married Emma Robson in 1891 at Taieri Ferry, farmed a property at Barnego, South Otago, where they lived from 1905.⁷¹⁶ Prior to taking up this property, James worked as a labourer on local estates in the lower Taieri. Joseph and Jane Crane farmed a property at Otokia until 1915, before they settled at Waitahuna, raising a family of eleven children.⁷¹⁷ By contrast, John Wellman who married Ann Campbell in 1898 worked as a shearer on back-country stations such as

⁷¹⁶ Marriage Certificate: Death Certificates: James Smith 1929/3995; Emma Smith 1914/3212. Birth Certificates: James Henry Smith 1899/1144; Mary Enid Smith 1901/3680; Winifred Estella Smith 1905/3915; Sidney Alexander Smith 1907/2632; Stanley Robert Smith 1914/4867. Balclutha Old Cemetery Headstone Burial Records, p. 5, (HL).

⁷¹⁷ Marriage Certificate: Joseph Crane to Jane Bryant 1895/1419. General Maori Information Book 3, p. 9, PC-174, Beattie Papers, (HL).

Mt. Somers in Mid Canterbury.⁷¹⁸ William Wellman worked on stations in Lumsden where he was a blade shearer.⁷¹⁹ Neither John or William Wellman became farmers.

It was not only men who moved away for the purpose of finding employment opportunities. Many of the women moved into Dunedin to work in factories or to train in traditional female occupations such as nursing. Eliza and Emma Brown both trained as nurses at Dunedin Hospital, and both went on to become matrons of Wellington and Auckland Hospitals respectively.⁷²⁰ Ngahui Brown moved to Dunedin “to obtain employment as a member of the domestic staff in several of the homes of prominent citizens.”⁷²¹ After her marriage to David Connell in 1920, she moved to his family farm in Owaka, South Otago, where in the 1930s she ran a confectionery and hairdresser’s business.⁷²² Martha Reid was raised in South Dunedin and it was here she took on work initially as a bookkeeper before spending four and half years at Sandringham’s Cake Shop in Caversham.⁷²³

In the majority of cases it was intermarriage that saw the loss of women from the community, such as Mary Brown who married John Walker in 1907. Mary left Maitapapa to follow John’s employment on NZR for eight years, before they settled on a property at Katea in South Otago where John was the secretary of the Fairfield Dairy Company.⁷²⁴ Sarah Sherburd married William Robertson in 1897. Soon after the turn of the century they moved from Momona in East Taieri and then to Fairlie in the Ashburton district where she worked as a domestic and William farmed a small property.⁷²⁵ Marriage also saw the loss of Elizabeth Tanner from the community who moved with her husband James Cushnie to Invercargill, and her sister Jessie who

⁷¹⁸ Marriage Certificate: John Wellman to Annie Campbell 1898/148/3512. Death Certificates: Ann Wellman 1930/19781; John Wellman 1935/3813. Succession to John Wellman, 22/5/1936, SIMB 28, p. 114.

⁷¹⁹ Marriage Certificates: William Richard Wellman to Sarah McIntosh 1904/6739; William Richard Wellman to Elsie Moana Rendall 1921/8041.

⁷²⁰ David Brown, 23/3/2003.

⁷²¹ ‘Kaumatua,’ *Dunedin Star*, 16/9/1989, p. 9.

⁷²² Ibid.

⁷²³ Letter, Dawn to Allan Lavell, undated, (Allan Lavell Collection).

⁷²⁴ Obituary, John Walker, January 1938, in Miscellaneous Death Notices, (David Brown Collection).

⁷²⁵ Marriage Certificate: Sarah Jane Sherburd to William Alexander Robertson 1897/4540. Death Certificate: Sarah Jane Robertson 1913/2311. Succession to Sarah Robertson, 5/11/1913, SIMB 18, p. 198.

lived in Caversham with her husband Harold Hanna whom she married in 1907.⁷²⁶ Eliza Gibb formerly Palmer moved to Manunui where her son Walter and daughter Daisy were living, and it was here that she passed away in 1937.⁷²⁷

The decades leading up to the 1920s witnessed the death of an earlier generation, many of whom were the personalities and leaders of the Taieri kāika. This continued over the period 1916 to 1926 when the small community lost four members who tied the younger generation to the community. Of the registered deaths only two people passed away at Henley in the period 1916 to 1926 and both had strong ties to the community having settled at the kāika or been born there in the mid-nineteenth century. Tiaki Kona/Jack Connor the acknowledged leader at Maitapapa died in 1920, as did his contemporary Mere Tanner, a matter of weeks later.⁷²⁸ Other significant leaders who passed away at this time were also the matriarchs who hosted family and kin at the kāika and tied disparate family members to the community such as Elizabeth Garth and Elizabeth Crane who both passed away in 1924. The loss of these taua meant the loss of a generation of knowledge, especially amongst people who in previous decades had taken a leading role in Kāi Tahu politics and local social and community events. Weddings, for example, were often held at the Brown family home or at the residence of Tiaki Kona. Significantly, it was Tiaki Kona, Elizabeth Crane, Mere Kui Tanner and Hinehou Martin who passed on their knowledge of place names, whakapapa and Kāi Tahu tradition to Herries Beattie in the period after 1916.⁷²⁹ This was the time, recalls Hislop ‘when [the] old ones left.’⁷³⁰

Land Loss

Not only did these deaths leave the community bereft of a strong group of kaumātua and leaders who tied children and grandchildren to the community, Kāi

⁷²⁶ Marriage Certificates: Jessie Hanna to Harold John Hanna 1907/5781; Elizabeth Ann Tanner to James Cushnie 1907/3825.

⁷²⁷ Death Certificate: Eliza Gibb 1937/1310.

⁷²⁸ Death Certificates: John Connor, 1920/2831; Mary Kui Tanner, 1920/2854.

⁷²⁹ See Whakapapa Book, Nos. 37, 42, 43, PC-168; Maori Information Book 3, PC-174, Beattie Papers, (HL).

⁷³⁰ Hislop, 6/4/1994.

Tahu tradition and identity, they also impacted upon land holdings. With death came the inevitable applications for succession before the Native Land Court, resulting in further fragmentation of title and erosion of land interests. Equitable successions continued to erode land holdings on the kāika (see Appendix Four). Tom Bennion and Judy Boyd state that in the period after the passage of the 1909 Native Land Act “succession orders formed the overwhelming bulk of the [Native Land] court’s work.”⁷³¹ The impact of succession on land interests followed a period from the 1870s (see Appendix One) when partition applications, “an integral part of the alienation process”, had already effectively divided the land.⁷³² The removal of all existing restrictions on Māori land alienation under section 207 of the Native Lands Act 1909 in order to facilitate its lease, mortgage or sale also made the retention of land more difficult, especially at a time when families were dispersed.

The owners of land in the Taieri Native Reserve took up the opportunity to alienate their interests provided for under the 1909 Act, but this was the continuation of a pattern that had begun from the 1880s. In 1910, Sarah Palmer mortgaged her interest in the 86 acre section C1a in the Taieri Native Reserve to the Government Advances Corporation for 200 pounds.⁷³³ Sarah’s interest in the land was mortgaged as she and her husband Ned “need the money it would fetch to live on. ... Their desire is to buy a small cottage near Dunedin where they would be near several of their children.”⁷³⁴ However, those that lived at the reserve did want to use the land. Prior to Sarah Palmer’s mortgage, Tieke Kona mortgaged his interests in Block A of the reserve in 1894 for 200 pounds to finance the improvement of the land and fence in stock to prevent their further loss.⁷³⁵ The mortgage was confirmed and formalized

⁷³¹ Tom Bennion and Judy Boyd, *Succession to Maori Land, 1900-52*, (Wellington, Waitangi Tribunal, 1997), p. 24.

⁷³² Tom Bennion, *The Maori Land Court and Land Boards, 1909-1952*, (Wellington, Waitangi Tribunal, 1997), p. 22.

⁷³³ Application for Confirmation of Alienation, 1/2/1910, CH270, 15/2/4011, (ANZ-C). 12 April 1910, Deeds Register Book, Vol. 151, p. 321, (LINZ-D).

⁷³⁴ Wilkinson to Native Land Court, 11/3/1907, MLC AccW2218 Box 17, (ANZ-W).

⁷³⁵ A. Brown Durie to Native Minister, 31/8/1898, MA 1 1908/564, (ANZ-W). 16/10/1894, Deeds Register Book, Vol. 120, p. 544, (LINZ-D).

in the Native Land Court in 1906.⁷³⁶ Palmer continued a trend in the mortgaging of the reserve land by absentee owners that had begun soon after the division of the reserve into three blocks. In 1887 H. K. Taiaroa sold his interest in Block B to local farmer George McIntosh under the provisions of the Taiaroa Land Act 1883, which empowered Taiaroa to alienate (lease, mortgage or sell) his interests in ‘native lands’ in the manner of ‘European-born subjects’ by bringing it under the Land Transfer Act.⁷³⁷ In 1889 Timoti Karetai mortgaged section B5 for 100 pounds to H. W. Baron.⁷³⁸ In short, the period when the population was beginning to migrate away from the kāika coincided with increased land alienation, assisted by the greater variety of ways in which native land legislation facilitated the alienation of land.

The long-term process of dispersal which began on a small scale from the 1850s with intermarriage, led to the emergence of families with an interest in the reserve land that had never actually lived at the reserve or the kāika by the 1920s. These people were Pākehā in appearance and education and maintained enough knowledge of the land to uphold their connection to it when succession orders were placed through the Native Land Court. However, correct succession depended on the knowledge of the applicant. In some cases, not all who had an interest were represented, often because knowledge of whakapapa was incomplete. In many cases families were so dispersed that the maintenance of this knowledge was eroded. The succession to George Brown’s interests was adjourned because the agent on behalf of the family “was not yet in possession of all the names and ages” of the successors.⁷³⁹ The succession to Tiaki Kona’s interests was a cause of conflict between his illegitimate son Teone Wiwi Paraone and his nephew Ernest Sherburd. Rights to the land relied on the authenticity of Teone’s claims by descent and the whakapapa evidence presented before the Court. It was claimed before the Native Land Court by

⁷³⁶ Deeds Register Book, Vol. 135, p. 363, (LINZ-D).

⁷³⁷ 7/10/1887, Deeds Register Book, Vol. 91, p. 54 (LINZ-D). The Taiaroa Land Act 1883, *New Zealand Statutes 1883*, p. 408. The Taiaroa Land Act 1883 applied only to H. K. Taiaroa and his land interests. This was a private Act in which Taiaroa sought the right to administer his individual land interests, including the right to alienate, in the same manner as a ‘European’ subject.

⁷³⁸ 6/9/1889, Deeds Register Book, Vol. 95, p. 1, (LINZ-D).

⁷³⁹ 12/7/1919, SIMB 22, p. 84.

Taupoki Herewini Taikaki of Wairewa and supported by Hana Topi of Bluff that Teone was known as Patou and that Tiaki Kona “recognised him as his own son and was generally regarded as the son of John Connor.”⁷⁴⁰ On the basis of this evidence the interests were awarded to Paraone.

From the mid-nineteenth century the impact of intermarriage and the production of mixed descent children were felt over land rights and interests and this continued into the twentieth century. Over the period 1850 to 1915, Pākehā men and later women were integrated into the kāika community through intermarriage. In the process, they gained access to land on which to live and cultivate. For those who had migrated, intermarriage assisted in the alienation of land. The sale of the interests of Sarah Robertson after her death in 1913 by her husband William Robertson saw the realization of Kāi Tahu fears articulated throughout the nineteenth century. Sarah Robertson, formerly Sherburd, died intestate in August 1913, leaving seven children to succeed to her interest in A15 of Taieri Native Reserve, the eldest aged sixteen years.⁷⁴¹ The interests of the children were placed into the hands of a trustee, on this occasion their father William A. Robertson, a farmer of Fairlie, South Canterbury. According to Native Land Court records, Robertson sold this land, an area of 67 acres and thereby the interests of his children in this section, to Richard James Crossan (married into the Overton family) for 640 pounds in November 1913.⁷⁴² Effectively, the death of an intestate Kāi Tahu woman married to a Pākehā man, afforded little protection to the interests of her children in that land. In this situation, where the children were too young to succeed and the Pākehā father as the trustee had effective control of the land, the result was alienation. Under the Native Lands Act 1909, which consolidated all previous native land legislation into one statute, 21 was the legal age of succession. Under this act the legal role of the parent and the powers of the trustee in the interests of minors were outlined. This included the power of alienation over trust property, the proceeds of which the trustee administered in the interests of the

⁷⁴⁰ Evidence of Taupoki Herewini Taikaki and Hana Topi, 28/9/1921, SIMB 22, p. 97.

⁷⁴¹ Reid and Bundle to Maori Land Court, 5/11/1913, CH270, 15/2/4011, (ANZ-C).

⁷⁴² Application for Confirmation of Alienation, 20/11/1913, CH270, 15/2/4011, (ANZ-C).

beneficiary.⁷⁴³ If the trustee was Pākehā, the formalities of executing alienation were not required. Instead, the alienation of land “may be executed by him in the same manner as if the land affected thereby was European land.”⁷⁴⁴ The outcome of this case is unsurprising given that Hohepa and Williams state, the system of the Native Land Court was a “colonially defined patriarchal institution both in the way it was organised and in its operations.”⁷⁴⁵ Nevertheless, this is one of the few cases where intermarriage resulted in the loss of Taieri land. Many of the women who married out from 1850 survived their husbands. Ani Wellman survived John by nineteen years; Harriet Overton outlived William by 23 years; Mere Kui outlived all three of her partners; Elizabeth Garth survived her husband Thomas by fourteen years; while fourteen years separated the deaths of James Crane in 1910 and Elizabeth in 1924.

Although loss of land through intermarriage was unusual, Māori political and spiritual leaders spoke out against intermarriage in the late nineteenth century, believing that it produced ‘half-caste’ progeny and by extension ‘half-caste’ lands that endangered Māori ownership and property rights.⁷⁴⁶ Parsonson’s case study of the Rohe Potae (King Country) Native Land Court hearings reveals the sons of Pākehā traders who had married into the local Māori communities shaped the cases brought before the Court, had their own agenda, and devised a strategy that ensured their rights in the lands were recognized.⁷⁴⁷ The problems of creating ‘half-caste’ lands on land rights was recognized by Alexander Mackay in 1875 when speaking about the provision of ‘half-caste’ land grants. Mackay stated: “the plan of granting land to the European fathers of half-caste families, instead of to the persons it is intended to benefit, is a disadvantageous one to the persons concerned, especially if the grant is

⁷⁴³ S. 180 (1) and S. 181, Native Lands Act 1909, *New Zealand Statutes 1909*, pp.198-199. S. 183 outlines the powers of the trustee over the funds accruing from an alienation.

⁷⁴⁴ Ibid., S. 213, p. 205. The Native Land Act 1909 removed all restrictions on the alienation of Māori land, but formalities of alienation did apply. These included good knowledge of the English language. See S. 215 of the Native Lands Act 1909.

⁷⁴⁵ Pat Hohepa and David V. Williams *The Taking into Account of Te Ao Maori in Relation to the Reform of the Law of Succession*, (Wellington, Law Commission, 1996), p. 29.

⁷⁴⁶ Lyndsay Head, “The Abduction of Hinemare’s Children,” *History Now*, 8, 4, November 2002, p. 22.

⁷⁴⁷ Ann Parsonson, “Stories for land: oral narratives in the Maori Land Court,” in Bain Attwood and Fiona Magowan (eds.) *Telling Stories: Indigenous history and memory in Australia and New Zealand*, (Wellington, Bridget Williams Books, 2001), pp. 24-25.

silent respecting the object for which the land is apportioned.”⁷⁴⁸ The numerous government archives relating to the ‘half-caste’ land claims in the mid-nineteenth century reveal the development of the mixed descent population amongst Kāi Tahu was in fact disruptive of land rights.⁷⁴⁹

However, the disruptive effect of inter-tribal or inter-hapū marriages on land rights was felt before the advent of Māori-Pākehā intermarriage. Bruce Biggs states that out-group marriages in traditional Māori society were a “possible source of quarrelling, especially in view of the great value, sentimental as well as practical, with which land was invested. The bi-lateral descent system too, could mean divided loyalties resulting in kai-wai-uu (milk-drinking), a form of treachery, or espionage, stemming from a relationship to both parties to a dispute.”⁷⁵⁰ Just as marriage to Pākehā was integrated into customary marriage practices, the conflict that arose in such marriages with regards to land also represented continuity. Kāi Tahu defensiveness and suspicion about ‘half-castes’ and the creation of ‘half-caste land’, was explicitly related to the challenge to property rights the development of a mixed population represented. Despite the continuity, a growing mixed descent population saw fear of land loss because of the greater potential for their land to be alienated. This fear was related to the fact that the ‘half-caste’ was a crosser of boundaries, categories and classifications because they did not occupy a stable place in official definitions. The specific Kāi Tahu fear was related to their small reserves. The danger of persons of dual ancestry lay in their multiplicity. In their ability to shift between categories of identity, the ‘half-caste’ also changed the status of their land interests, opening up the possibilities of alienation that lay outside of the Native Land Court system.

In the 1920s, the ethnic transformation of the population to ‘quarter-caste’ or less status through intermarriage saw cases of the reserve land reverting from ‘Māori’ to ‘European’ ownership. In Sarah Robertson’s case, the question of her status as a

⁷⁴⁸ Alexander Mackay to the Hon. Secretary for Crown Lands, 15/6/1875, *AJHR*, 1876, G-9, pp. 17-18.

⁷⁴⁹ See Series MA 13, Special file No. 10, (ANZ-W).

⁷⁵⁰ Bruce Biggs, *Maori Marriage: an essay in reconstruction*, (Auckland, Reed, 1960), p. 25.

‘Native’ or ‘European’ was brought up in the Native Land Court.⁷⁵¹ In the matter of succession to her land interests, which were brought before the Court in 1913, her ‘blood’ counted in the definition of her status as Māori. If defined as ‘European’ her land would be therefore in ‘European’ ownership and would not come under the jurisdiction of the court. This matter was placed in abeyance and given that the Court proceeded with the succession, Sarah Robertson was deemed to be defined as a ‘Native’. Likewise, the status of land in Block C of the reserve was attached to the descent status of its owners. Section 1a in Block C of the Taieri Native Reserve was sold by its owners to three of the current owners, Ben Overton, Daisy Gibb and Jane Adams, in 1930. Overton, Gibb and Adams were the children of Sarah and Ned Palmer and thus under native land legislation were of ‘quarter-caste’ status and therefore ‘European’. In reply to an enquiry on the status of the section, the Registrar of the Land Court stated: “the land having been sold to Europeans has automatically become European land and passed entirely outside of the jurisdiction of the Maori Land Court.”⁷⁵²

Social and Cultural Loss

The physical disintegration of the kāika and community was a long-term process, but in the period 1916 to 1926 the process was rapid and complete. Aligned with dispersal was cultural loss. The years of vigilance in maintaining access to mahika kai and inland waterways were overborne by drainage and flood protection schemes by the mid 1920s. In 1919, the remaining families at Maitapapa formed a committee represented by George Martin, Thomas Brown, John Drummond, Charles Palmer, Thomas Garth, John Brown and Ben Overton “to represent each householder therein (kaika)”, paying the rent money from Tatawai to protect their interests in this

⁷⁵¹ 5/12/1913, SIMB 18, p. 198. The question of Robertson’s descent seems to have been an after thought, seen in the manner in which the matter was noted. In this case, the question was placed in brackets after the appointment by the Court of William Alexander Robertson as trustee to the seven minors. Unfortunately, the note gives no indication of why the matter was brought up or by whom.

⁷⁵² P. H. Dudson to A. E. N. Houghton, 25/2/1948, MLC AccW2218 Box 26 n. 125, (ANZ-W).

lake before the Native Land Court.⁷⁵³ This new committee, however, could not prevent the loss of the lake in 1920; their mixed descent ancestry acted against their interests.

The erosion of fishing rights was completed under the Taieri River Improvement Act 1920, which extinguished Kāi Tahu fishing rights over Lake Tatawai while the lake bed was vested in the Taieri River Trust.⁷⁵⁴ The 1920 Act established the Taieri River Trust and its district giving it the powers of a river board under the River Boards Act 1908 and the powers of a drainage board under the Land Drainage Act 1908.⁷⁵⁵ It was stated in the *Ngai Tahu Ancillary Claims Report* that there was no evidence that any consultation with local Kāi Tahu took place when the lake was taken and vested in the Trust.⁷⁵⁶ The Act was the result of a 1919 Rivers Commission established to investigate the flooding and drainage of five South Island rivers. The report on Taieri recommended ways to prevent and alleviate damage to productive land from the periodic flooding of the Taieri River. The commission recommended a drainage scheme that had been presented and partially begun in 1910.

[The 1910 scheme had been] abandoned, owing, it is stated, to opposition by the Maoris to the drying of the lake over which they have, or are alleged to have, fishing-rights. Your Commissioners cannot conceive that such a consideration as fishing-rights in a lake which is almost dry, and which could therefore have no commercial value to any one, should be allowed to weigh against the enormous benefits, financial and otherwise, which would accrue to the settlers and the State if the Maori Lake were utilized for the purposes herein indicated, and in which capacity it would be doing a service infinitely greater than ever it will do as a fishing-ground for Natives. Your Commissioners are of opinion that the lake is of no financial value to the Natives; but, even so, it would be better to waive this point, and even in opposition to strict justice, to take the lake and pay the Maoris some compensation in order to wipe out their opposition for ever. If their demands are extortionate, then by the provisions of a special Act their rights should be extinguished and Parliament should fix a sum, which should be a purely nominal one, to be

⁷⁵³ Tatawai Lake (Committee) Book, 16/8/1919 and 19/6/1923, unpaginated, (Ted Palmer Collection).

⁷⁵⁴ P. F. Harding, 'Report on Lake Tatawai', Lake Tatawai Folder, Box Hiv21, Ngai Tahu Maori Trust Board Archives, (MBL).

⁷⁵⁵ Taieri River Improvement Act 1920, *New Zealand Statutes 1920*, p. 694.

⁷⁵⁶ Waitangi Tribunal, *Ngai Tahu Ancillary Claims Report 1995*, (Wellington, Tribunal, 1995), p. 216.

paid to any Natives who could establish the fact that at present they are making any substantial use of the lake.⁷⁵⁷

Under section 20 of the Act compensation was offered to families for the loss of the lake but “Claims were required to be lodged within 6 months after which the rights of the Natives ceased for all time.”⁷⁵⁸ In its findings, the Waitangi Tribunal stated that the comments of the River Commission, and the failure of the Crown to consult with the local Kāi Tahu or provide any compensation for the loss of the lake, “showed scant regard for Maori fishing rights.”⁷⁵⁹ The Tribunal also found that in these failures the Crown breached its duty in the care and protection of special fishery reserves that were set aside for Māori fishing purposes.⁷⁶⁰ The outcome was the loss of the lake and confiscation of fishing rights. Drainage of New Zealand’s wetlands which began in a comprehensive manner from 1900 meant the loss of ecologically diverse environments. The loss of kahikatea at Tatawai was also the loss of a habitat that attracted native birds while drainage of the lake itself meant the reduction in numbers of valued waterfowl. Thus, drainage seriously reduced the sources of food and raw materials available for the sustenance of the local community.

Tatawai continued to resonate into the early 1920s for the remaining families at the Maitapapa kāika. On the death of Tiaki Kona/John Connor in 1920, Thomas Brown continued to push for the settlement of the Tatawai issue. In 1921 when only a few families remained at Maitapapa, and even less from the generation that experienced the struggles to get the lake reserved, the effects of drainage works on the lake and by extension on the remaining families at Maitapapa remained of importance to the kāika.⁷⁶¹ Restrictions upon nets and fishing in certain areas impacted upon cultural and economic imperatives. Brown stated in 1922 that: “We are quite aware that there is a restriction on net fishing and limit, as far as I know, is three miles from the sea. We would therefore beg to be allowed to catch fish with net. . . . Because the

⁷⁵⁷ ‘Report of the Rivers Commission on Taieri River,’ *AJHR*, 1920, D-6d, p. 12.

⁷⁵⁸ Emma P. Grooby, *Maori Taieri – Field Trip*, LC10:6 (OSM). S. 20 Taieri River Improvement Act 1920, *New Zealand Statutes 1920*, p. 699.

⁷⁵⁹ *Ancillary Claims Report*, p. 218.

⁷⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 219.

⁷⁶¹ T.B. Brown to Under-Secretary, Lands and Survey Department 5/4/1921, LS 1/41749 (Box 398), (ANZ-W).

Pakeha today does not take any notice of the Maoris fishing rights and has his boats tethered in and around the lake, and during the fishing and shooting season we cannot get a look in or near the fishing grounds.”⁷⁶² The applicant, Thomas Brown asked that trustees be appointed for the lake by the Court.⁷⁶³ Complaints and concerns prompted little response, with no action taken as the lake was already reserved for camping purposes. Significantly, it was stated by the Commissioner of Crown Lands in Dunedin that it “is doubtful if there is an aboriginal native left now at Henley.”⁷⁶⁴ It seems that a lack of ‘Māoriness’, in this case equated with ‘blood’ and appearance, underlay the question of fishing rights and access to Tatawai.

The loss of the lake under the Taieri River Improvement Act 1920 saw a claim made before the Native Land Court in 1923 by Taieri families. At the centre of the claim was that fishing rights were being impinged upon. The claimant, Thomas Brown, clearly expressed no knowledge that the lake had been vested in the Taieri River Trust, and thus provides evidence that the Crown did not consult with local Kāi Tahu over the 1920 Act. The matter was adjourned until June 1924 when the implications of the 1920 Act were outlined before the Court. At this Court meeting the “Natives alledge[d] they did not hear or know of the passing of the Act till after the expiry of the six months [to make claims for compensation] and were consequently too late to lodge claims.”⁷⁶⁵ A committee was selected by the Taieri families to “petition the House of Parliament for remedial legislation to enable them to lodge claims.”⁷⁶⁶ In effect, the passage of the 1920 Act represented not only the loss of Tatawai but the erosion of fishing rights at the Taieri at a time when there were few remaining families at the kāika to fight for its retention.

A declining kāika community impacted on the number of social and cultural events at Maitapapa, and by extension the erosion of culture and tradition. Despite

⁷⁶² T.B. Brown to Minister of Native Lands 27/6/1922, LS 1/41749 (Box 398), (ANZ-W).

⁷⁶³ 5/12/1923, SIMB 23, p. 40.

⁷⁶⁴ Commissioner Crown Lands Dunedin to Under-Secretary Lands 18/5/1921, LS 1/41749 (Box 398), (ANZ-W).

⁷⁶⁵ 26/6/1924, SIMB 23, p.109.

⁷⁶⁶ Ibid. 9/6/1924, SIMB 24, p. 47. The committee consisted of Ernest Sherburd, George Karetai, T. M. Ellison, W. D. Barrett and George Martin.

regular social gatherings up until 1918, a dwindling kāika population saw the loss of Te Waipounamu Hall in 1921. The loss of population was evident in the handful of people who attended the meeting to consider tenders for the sale of the hall with only William Brown, George Martin, Thomas Brown, Ben Overton and Elizabeth Garth present.⁷⁶⁷ The closure of Taieri Ferry School due to a falling roll, eventually amalgamating with Henley School in 1924,⁷⁶⁸ alongside the loss of the Hall and of Lake Tatawai in 1920 consolidated a picture of loss and disintegration at the kāika. At the time Lake Tatawai was on the verge of loss under the 1920 Improvement Act, the Southern Māori Electoral Roll of 1919 recorded one Māori whose address was listed as Taieri and ten Māori living at Henley.⁷⁶⁹ Thomas Brown, writing of the kāika, described it as “deserted.” “The cottages are empty and nothing remains of those old days. The descendants are scattered afar and so few left.”⁷⁷⁰

Disintegration was felt not only in the physical loss of buildings and population, but also culturally. This was most evident in language. In 1919, Sarah Stevenson wrote to the registrar of the Native Land Court stating: “As I am unable to read Maori, would you please send an English copy [of the proxy form]?”⁷⁷¹ Stevenson was the daughter of Sarah Palmer who had mortgaged her land in Block C of the reserve in 1910 in order to facilitate her migration to Dunedin to be closer to her children, and who in 1897 was described as “a Native or three-quarter Native” who “speaks English.”⁷⁷² It was claimed that Tiaki Kona, the leader of the community, “spoke English better than Maori.”⁷⁷³ By the 1920s, decades of education in the English language contributed to the gradual loss of te reo Māori amongst the

⁷⁶⁷ Trustee Record Book Native Hall, 12/8/1921, (Ted Palmer Collection).

⁷⁶⁸ R. J. Stuart, *Henley, Taieri Ferry and Otokia: A Schools and District History*, (Outram, Reunion Committee, 1981), p. 11. The falling roll is reflected in the Otago Education Board Examination Registers. By 1923, only two children of Kāi Tahu descent were enrolled at Taieri Ferry. Examination Register T-W, 1923, AG-294-36/404, (HL).

⁷⁶⁹ Result of the Research by the Department of Lands and Survey and its position on the Ngai Tahu Trust Board Petition, p. 5 in Supporting Papers to the Evidence of Josephine Barnao (O8), Crown Papers (Wai-27).

⁷⁷⁰ Thomas Brown, “The Life of Thomas Brown (and memory of others) 1885-1974,” MS, unpaginated, (Parker Collection).

⁷⁷¹ Sarah Stevenson to Maori Land Court, 20/11/1919, MLC AccW2218 Box 26 n. 125, (ANZ-W).

⁷⁷² John Fraser to Native Land Court, 27/8/1897, MLC AccW2218 Box 17 (ANZ-W).

⁷⁷³ 12/12/1922, SIMB, 22, p. 186.

mixed descent families of Maitapapa. Indeed, Ted Palmer concludes that while the kāika broke up for economic reasons after World War One, intermarriage continued in the region and was assisted through education as it provided a ready supply of educated ‘half-caste’ and ‘quarter-caste’ wives who appeared Pākehā.⁷⁷⁴ Thus, language and education in combination with Pākehā physical appearance facilitated dispersal and assimilation. Gaining success socially completed and reinforced ethnic transformation. In the Kāi Tahu Claim before the Tribunal at Otākou, Mahana Walsh and other kaumātua spoke of how encouragement to succeed in the Pākehā world led to the loss of culture and language. While the refusal of Kāi Tahu parents to teach their children Māori was a strategy to help them ‘fit in’ to mainstream society, the loss of language, states Walsh, positioned those of mixed descent, and by extension Kāi Tahu, as “plastic Maoris”.⁷⁷⁵ Because they did not have the requisite language skills or the cultural knowledge they were not considered authentically Māori and because of their dual heritage were not completely accepted as Pākehā.

Another contributing factor to outward migration in the early twentieth century was racial prejudice. Such interpersonal conflict is not present in official and local histories of the Taieri, but surfaces in family history and tradition. Gordon Brown, son of George and Helen, left the kāika at the age of fifteen in part because of racial prejudice. Family recollect that Gordon stated he never married because he did not want to pass on the stigma attached to being of mixed descent and of being unable to ‘fit in.’⁷⁷⁶ Families also recollect that many kāika children ‘sometimes dreaded getting on to the train at Henley because of the racism they were likely to be subjected to.’⁷⁷⁷ In Taieri and Otago more widely, people of mixed descent straddled two cultural worlds but their experiences demonstrate that they fitted into neither.

⁷⁷⁴ Ted Palmer, 9/9/2003.

⁷⁷⁵ Bill Dacker, *The Pain and the Love*, (Dunedin, University of Otago Press, 1994), p. 135.

⁷⁷⁶ David Brown, 25/4/2003.

⁷⁷⁷ Ted Palmer to Angela Wanhalla, 4/3/2003, p. 2.

Conclusion

The retention and the ultimate loss of Tatawai illustrates that the strength of the community lay in its population size and in its families. However, over the period 1916 to 1926 mobility patterns changed to outward migrations, with many families choosing within the constraints of little land to move away for personal, social and economic reasons. A long tradition of intermarriage played a part in these movements, providing the catalyst for outward migration from the 1850s. While sustained intermarriage throughout the late nineteenth century contributed to a stable community at the kāika by 1915, it also led to the development of two distinct groups of ‘half-castes’: those who lived at the kāika and articulated a Kāi Tahu identity and those who had migrated away and retained few connections with the reserve. By the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, Taieri Kāi Tahu was a highly intermarried community. In terms of ‘blood’ the population was characterized by a large ‘quarter-caste’ demographic and was quickly moving to being visibly ‘European.’ As will be illustrated in Chapter Eight, the cultural accommodation by Kāi Tahu that had taken place throughout the nineteenth century gave way to assimilation into mainstream society by the mid-twentieth century, often because the visibility of the mixed descent population as ‘European’, gave many the opportunity to assimilate.

8

DESTINATIONS

Introduction

The outcome of the rapid and complete migration away from Maitapapa over the period 1916 to 1926 was the settlement and assimilation of the mixed descent families into mainstream Pākehā society. The impact of migration on Maitapapa and the settlement patterns of former kāika families over the period 1927 to 1940 are the focus of this chapter. It examines the patterns of settlement of former Taieri families to kāika at Taumutu and Tuahiwi in Canterbury, and discusses why other families assimilated into the farming communities of East Taieri, and still others went to Waitahuna, Edendale and Balclutha. With the permanent migration of the families to new communities the erosion of cultural ties to Maitapapa and Kāi Tahu identity that had been underway since the 1850s and increased rapidly from the turn of the twentieth century was far more complete by 1940. Indeed, the migration of families away from the kāika, often into rural districts, saw a declining emphasis on Kāi Tahu cultural identity and on ties with Maitapapa and a new focus upon Pākehā identities. As part of this shift in identity, appearance is positioned as a key aspect of the assimilation of these families into local communities. The chapter draws upon a textual analysis of family photographs in conjunction with oral histories in order to examine the centrality of physical appearance, dress, morality and respectability in the assimilation process that played out in rural, suburban and urban areas.

The Geography of Destinations

In 1974, G. F. Davis described the fate of the Taieri families as resting on farming poor land or migration. Most chose migration away from the kāika, becoming with intermarriage “an integral part of the farming community on the Plains” in the twentieth century.⁷⁷⁸ By 1942 Herries Beattie’s cousin William Adam stated that “the Maori element was very scarce at the Kaik.”⁷⁷⁹ Maitapapa was certainly not the only Kāi Tahu community to experience population dispersal and cultural dislocation in the early twentieth century, but it was one of the few communities that can attribute this pattern to long term intermarriage.

The movement out of the district that began in the early decades of the twentieth century and increased after World War One was continued throughout the period 1927 to 1940, evidenced by the places of marriage listed in Tables Fifteen and Sixteen. Due to the far flung nature of settlement and the impact of long-term intermarriage many people have been difficult to trace in official documentation, thus it is possible that not all marriages are represented in the following tables. Of the 24 marriages recorded in Tables Fifteen and Sixteen none took place at Henley and none was to a partner of Kāi Tahu descent. The marriage records illustrate that the Taieri families and their descendants were no longer resident at Maitapapa and were largely of ‘quarter-caste’ and ‘one-eighth’ descent, a reflection of a continued trend to marry ‘out’. Furthermore, the places of marriage reflect dispersal and migration. The last marriage that took place between kāika families was that of Thomas Garth (a Pākehā child adopted into a kāika family) and Annie Sherburd in 1924, but at Invercargill not Maitapapa/Henley.

⁷⁷⁸ G.F. Davis, “Old Identities and New Iniquities: The Taieri Plain in Otago Province 1770-1870,” (MA, University of Otago, 1974), p. 185.

⁷⁷⁹ General Maori Information Book 3, PC-174, p. 17, Beattie Papers, (HL).



Illustration 22: The marriage of Tom Garth and Ani Sherburd took place at Invercargill rather than Henley. Nevertheless, their marriage was one of the last between former kāika families in the early decades of the twentieth century. The marriage party included Gordon Brown (standing right) and Annie's brother John (standing second right). The two women standing are Annie Connor on the left and Tom Garth's cousin Elizabeth Brown.

Source: David Brown (Personal Collection).

The majority of the marriages listed in the following tables took place in the urban centres of Dunedin, Christchurch and Invercargill. In addition, a number of marriages took place in the towns of Ashburton and Gore while the remainder were in rural areas where former Taieri families farmed, such as Waitahuna, Seaward Downs and Lochiel. Broken down by gender, the smaller number of marriages detailed for women is a reflection of the difficulty in tracing their lives after marriage, but from those listed it is clear that the majority of marriages took place in urban centres. For men, who are easier to trace in the records, both the towns and the urban centres were favoured places of marriage.

Table 15: Marriages (Maitapapa Women): 1927-1940

Name	'Race'	Partner	Occupation	Birthplace	Year	Place
Mary Ann Bryant	Eighth	Duncan MacKay	Radiographer	Moeraki	1928	Dunedin
Margaret Wellman	Eighth	Sherwin Garner	Factory Hand	Ashburton	1928	Ashburton
Nancy Yorston	Eighth	Sam Gutsell	Labourer	Chaslands	1930	Balclutha
Ida Milward	Eighth	Richard Sparnon	Electrician	Tasmania	1933	Dunedin
Caroline Annis	Half	Charles Archbold			1934	Christchurch
Ivy Robinson	Sixteenth	John Campbell			1936	Henley
Eileen Milward	Eighth	James Reid	Labourer	Scotland	1939	Dunedin

* Kāi Tahu descent

Source: Registered Marriage Certificates (BDM).

Table 16: Marriages (Maitapapa Men): 1927-1940

Name	'Race'	Partner	Occupation	Birthplace	Year	Place
James Dickson	Eighth	Agnes Reid		Otokia	1927	Dunedin
James Brown	Quarter	Dorothy Parker		Mangatainoka	1927	Napier
Robert Stevenson	Sixteenth	Alice Moore		Geraldine	1928	Timaru
Donald Wellman	Eighth	Doris Tait			1928	Ashburton
James Wellman	Eighth	Janet Quartley		England	1928	Wellington
Ben Palmer	Eighth	Helen Wilson			1930	Seaward Downs
James Crane	Eighth	Margaret Chalmers			1933	Lochiel
Wm. Drummond	Eighth	Agnes Collins			1933	Ashburton
John Sherburd	Eighth	Barbara Adie		Nevis	1936	Dunedin
Travis Brown	Quarter	Mary O'Reilly	Domestic	Waikaia	1937	Gore
Alex Cushnie	Eighth	Muriel Spittle			1937	Gore
Alex Bryant	Quarter	Edna Livingstone	Nurse	Blenheim	1939	Balclutha
Ian Stevenson	Sixteenth	Lillian Wood			1939	Dunedin
Herbert Crane	Quarter	Olive Cook			1939	Dunedin
Charles Bryant	Eighth	Thelma Pay			1940	Dunedin
John Sherburd	Eighth	Joyce Campbell		Dunedin	1940	Dunedin
William Wellman	Eighth	Louise Grimmert		Dunedin	1940	Dunedin

* Kāi Tahu descent

Source: Registered Marriage Certificates (BDM).

The destinations of former Taieri families were widespread but a number of patterns can be discerned. First, there were a small number of families who remained at Henley farming the kāika land and attempting to maintain customary fishing rights and practices. Only Jessie Hanna, Caroline Reid, Ernest Sherburd, Thelma Smith and Bessie and Walter Dawson were resident at the kāika in 1941. For those few families that remained the question of eroding fishing rights was significant. In the late 1930s and early 1940s Thelma Smith wrote to the Minister of Native Affairs regarding the loss of

the ‘privilege’ to net inaka/whitebait and outlined the impact of restrictive fishing regulations on the ability to access food and maintain tradition.⁷⁸⁰ On a visit in 1941 where he found the persons listed above in residence, the Chief Inspector for Fisheries discovered that fishing regulations had indeed negated traditional fishing practices. As “the women-folk have always been in the habit of fishing for whitebait by wading in the shallow water as the tide rises over the beach-like ‘bank’ of the river at this place. Their way of fishing was to use a piece of scrim, operated by one person at end, a method which is also practiced in Waikouaiti Harbour, and possibly other similar waters. There is no regulation definitely forbidding it, but it has been looked upon as illegal and contrary to the intention of the regulations by many people, including our Inspectors.”⁷⁸¹ Thus, the river and lakes continued to be a central site of conflict between Taieri Kāi Tahu of mixed descent and Pākehā.

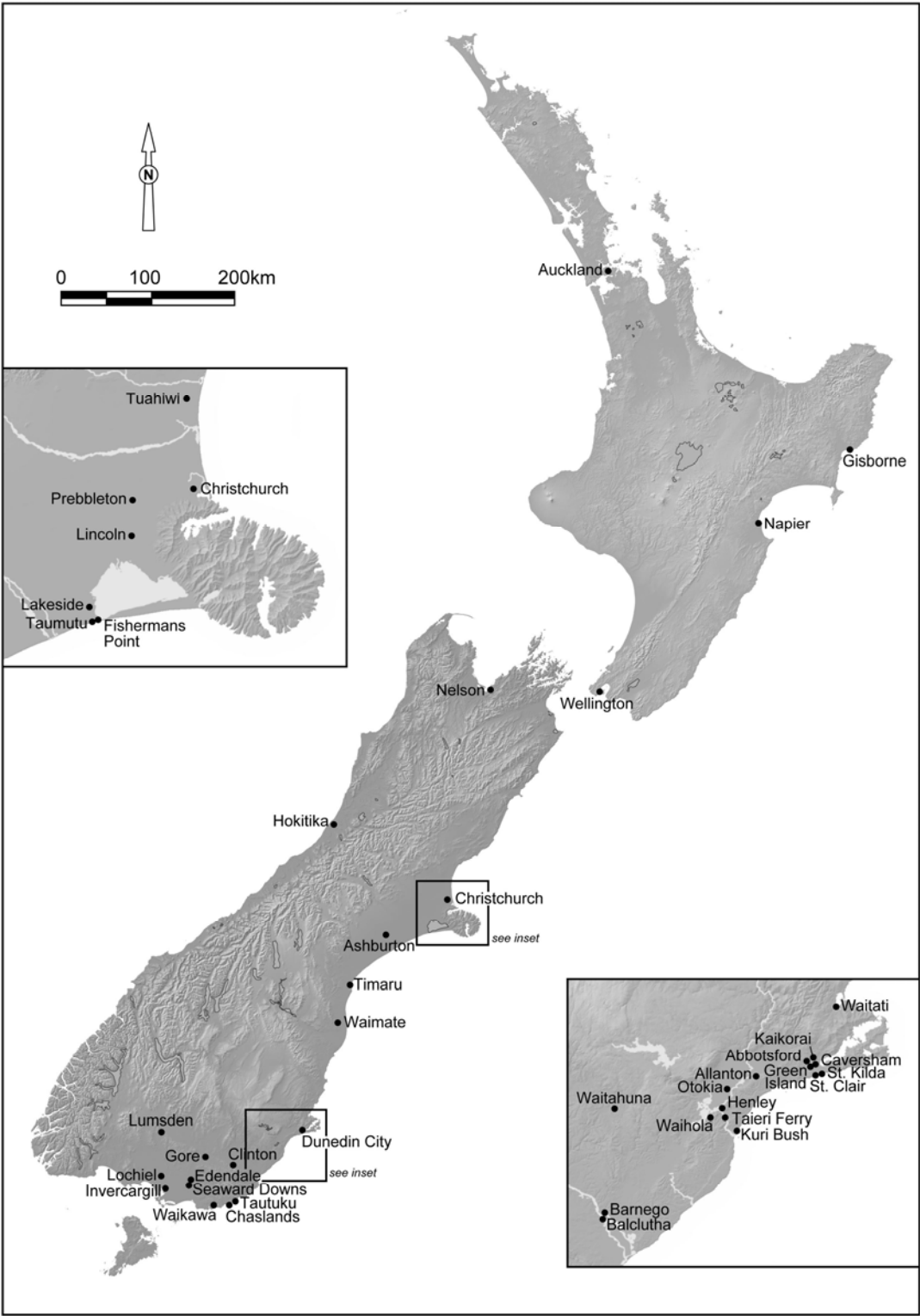
A second group of families remained in the lower Taieri district farming land. Marriage into the local farming families, such as that of James Stuart Dickson, the grandson of Sarah Brown and Ned Palmer, to Agnes Reid, consolidated kinship ties between those of Kāi Tahu descent and settler.⁷⁸² Families such as the Dicksons and the Palmers were able to maintain a presence in the lower Taieri, if not at Maitapapa, through land ownership. However, these landholdings were small requiring a mixed economy to survive. James Dickson milked cows on land at Henley, and cleared manuka which was cut into cords for sale, alongside rabbiting and whitebaiting.⁷⁸³

⁷⁸⁰ T. M. Smith to M. J. Savage, Minister for Maori Affairs, 18/10/1939, M2/10/36, in Supporting Papers of David Armstrong, Vol. 2, (S10), Crown Papers (Wai-27).

⁷⁸¹ Memo, Chief Inspector of Fisheries to Secretary, Marine Department, 11/8/1941, in Supporting Papers of David Armstrong, Vol. 2, (S10), Crown Papers, (Wai-27).

⁷⁸² Allan Lavell, 20/7/2003.

⁷⁸³ Ibid.



Map 6: Location Map of Destinations

A third group of families urbanized, locating themselves mainly in Dunedin. School Reunion Committee Records for the Henley, Taieri Ferry and Otokia school districts convey the variety of places in which former pupils of Kāi Tahu descent resided in 1934. Herbert Crane was located in Kaikorai, Dunedin, Joseph Crane in Dunedin, Frederick Crane at Clyde Hill, Robert Crane at Waitahuna, the Palmers had clustered in Dunedin, while many of the Dicksons had stayed at Kuri Bush and Henley or moved to townships in the local vicinity such as Green Island and Allanton.⁷⁸⁴

A further pattern of clustering is evident in the fourth pattern of migration from Taieri, which involved settlement in small towns and suburbs. Usually this clustering was centred on a particular industry such as the woollen mills and frozen meat industry. The Yorston family moved from being farm labourers into the freezing works industry at Balclutha, while the families of John Wellman and William Wellman and Elizabeth and John Drummond moved to Ashburton where they worked in the woollen mill industry. A number of former Taieri families migrated to South Dunedin. Martha Reid was born in 1909 to Sarah Dickson and James Walker Reid at Abbotsford. Reid's death at the Abbotsford mine in 1911 saw the removal of the family on the second marriage of Sarah to St. Kilda where the children attended Caversham School.⁷⁸⁵ Members of the Bryant family lived in South Dunedin on Richardson Street as that is 'where the industry was'.⁷⁸⁶ While Eric Bryant remembers "the Tom Bryant family fairly well [where] the boys worked for my father thinning turnips and making hay",⁷⁸⁷ many of the family migrated as adults to South Dunedin.⁷⁸⁸ This suburb was the site of industry, heralding population growth and drawing a number of Taieri families to its employment possibilities, particularly the Hillside railway workshops as boilermakers, jappanners and

⁷⁸⁴ Enrolments, Alphanumeric, Decades, 00-152/01, (HL).

⁷⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁸⁶ Stephen Bryant, 12/4/2003.

⁷⁸⁷ Eric Bryant to Shirley McLeod, 30/12/1982, Personal Papers of Shirley McLeod (McLeod Collection).

⁷⁸⁸ Malcolm McLeod, 12/6/2003.

iron turners.⁷⁸⁹ Their assimilation into southern Dunedin was successful, because as is noted by Annabel Cooper, Erik Olssen, Kirsten Thomlinson and Robin Law, over the period 1890 to 1939 Māori were virtually invisible in this part of Dunedin. Very few in southern Dunedin identified themselves as Māori, with only 21 persons doing so in the 1936 census.⁷⁹⁰



Illustration 23: The Drummond Family, who moved to Ashburton in the 1930s where they engaged in the woollen mill industry.

Source: Shirley Tindall (Personal Collection).

⁷⁸⁹ Between 1907 and 1918 the Hanna family lived in Caversham where Harold was employed as a boilermaker. Birth Certificate of Winifred Mere Hanna No: 1907/5759; Harold Thomas Hanna No: 1910/4416; Jessie Adeline Hanna No: 1913/1459; James Cleland Robert Hanna No: 1915/4900; and Caroline Elizabeth Hanna No: 1918/4782. On his death in 1954 George Milward was listed as a retired Jannner, formerly resident of Josephine Street, Caversham: Death Certificate George Milward No: 1954/30144. At his death in 1914 Alexander Smith was listed as an iron turner and from the birth certificate of his daughter in 1912, lived at Richmond Street, South Dunedin. Birth Certificate Thelma Margaret Smith No: 1912/4563 and Death Certificate Alexander Henry Thomson Smith No: 1914/10982.

⁷⁹⁰ Annabel Cooper, Erik Olssen, Kirsten Thomlinson and Robin Law, "The Landscape of Gender Politics: Place, People and Two Mobilisations," in Barbara Brookes, Annabel Cooper and Robin Law (eds.) *Sites of Gender: Women, Men and Modernity in Southern Dunedin, 1890-1939*, (Auckland, Auckland University Press, 2003), pp. 36-37.

A fifth group of families moved into rural farming districts. A survey of those who left wills gives an insight into not only their residence and occupation but also gives an indication of social mobility and integration into mainstream society.⁷⁹¹ Farmers and land-holders comprised the largest group, characterized by those who remained in the lower Taieri district farming family land and those who had left the district to find economic opportunity. Those who were raised in farming families, such as the children of Elizabeth and James Crane, or who married into them, were able to avoid poverty to some extent. In many cases, the size of the willed estate was predicated on the land-holding, with many having little to leave their family. It was those who owned substantial farms that had estates to divide amongst their children. At his death in 1929, George Palmer, formerly a farmer at Seaward Downs left a legacy of 100 pounds to his daughter Annie Crane and 100 pounds to his son William.⁷⁹² Richard Crossan, who when he married into the Overton family was a storekeeper, died at Henley in 1949 as a farmer and left an estate worth 6000 pounds.⁷⁹³ Frederick Crane left an estate worth 2000 pounds on his death in 1936 at Waikawa, Southland, where he farmed.⁷⁹⁴ William Bryant Crane, who died in 1959, left his wife an annual income of 900 pounds and an estate worth 20,000 pounds.⁷⁹⁵ Joseph Crane, who farmed at Waitahuna, left an estate of 3000 pounds in 1937.⁷⁹⁶ Joseph's brother-in-law William Bryant farmed at Otokia and in 1951 left each of his five children a legacy ranging from 150 to 500 pounds and an estate worth 14,000 pounds.⁷⁹⁷ James Smith died at Balclutha in 1929 where he farmed land at Barnego, leaving his property valued at 1975 pounds to his youngest son Stanley Robert

⁷⁹¹ Many of those who left wills were labourers or skilled workers. The second group who left wills were women, many of whom were widows. The third group were composed of those located in middle-class occupations, such as solicitors and clerks, and were small in number.

⁷⁹² George Palmer, 1929, DAFG 9067 74 216/29, (ANZ-D).

⁷⁹³ Richard James Crossan, 1949, DAAC D239 387 24232, (ANZ-D).

⁷⁹⁴ Frederick Henry Crane, 1936, DAFG 9068/95 221/36, (ANZ-D).

⁷⁹⁵ William Bryant Crane, 1959, DAAC D239 474 1059/59, (ANZ-D).

⁷⁹⁶ Joseph Crane, 1937, DAAC D239 301 15664, (ANZ-D).

⁷⁹⁷ William Bryant, 1951, DAAC D239 408 0474/51, (ANZ-D).

Smith.⁷⁹⁸ Compared to the estates examined by Jim McAloon in Canterbury and Otago over the period 1840 to 1914, those of the former Taieri families do not fall into the category of ‘wealthy’. Many of the former Taieri families who left probates fall into the category of the family farmer who combined livestock and cropping on properties of less than 2000 acres and usually left estates worth less than 20,000 pounds.⁷⁹⁹ Those who were socially mobile and economically successful were few, and in most cases this success was predicated on land ownership.



Illustration 24: James Smith and Emma Robson with their children Winifred and William.

Source: Ian Bryant (Personal Collection).

A sixth pattern of migration of families to other Kāi Tahu kāika is revealed through Land Alienation Files for the Taieri Native Reserve which outlines the fate of the

⁷⁹⁸ Will of James Smith, 10/10/1924, AAOM/6029/45888, (ANZ-W).

⁷⁹⁹ Jim McAloon, *No Idle Rich: The Wealthy in Canterbury and Otago, 1840-1914*, (Dunedin, University of Otago Press, 2002), p. 17.

Taieri land and its owners. Some families moved to where they had kin and land interests, especially Tuahiwi and Taumutu in Canterbury. William Crane married twice, first to Charlotte Areta Paipeta/Piper who died in 1934 and then Rawinia Ruben both of whom were of Kāi Tahu descent.⁸⁰⁰ William lived his married life as a farmer at Tuahiwi, Kaiapoi near his sister Amelia who married Tare Paruti/Charles Flutey.⁸⁰¹ Elizabeth Crane married Takana Manihera at Lyttelton in 1881, residing on Banks Peninsula for much of her life.⁸⁰² The strength of ties to Taumutu would be realized at the turn of the twentieth century with the permanent settlement of John Brown and Mabel Smith at this kāika.⁸⁰³

Those who migrated away from Taieri often alienated their land interests. Many absentee owners chose to sell off their interests in the reserve land on the northern bank of the Taieri River not for personal gain but in many cases to provide them with necessities. In 1940 Hakita Hutika Huria of Tuahiwi required the monies from the sale of section eight of the Taieri Native Reserve as “I am in urgent need of winter clothing.”⁸⁰⁴ Another owner, Alice Hariata Uru required the monies from the sale of the same section to Walter and Bessie Dawson in order to renovate and repair her home to make it “clean and comfortable.”⁸⁰⁵ Teone Wiwi Paraone, residing at Taumutu, requested in 1938 that his interests in the proceeds from the sale of A7 and A11 be released as he had “been

⁸⁰⁰ Charlotte Areta Crane, probate of will, 22/1/1935, SIMB 27, p. 189.

⁸⁰¹ Death Certificate: William Edwin Crane 1941/28681. Marriage Certificate: Amelia Ann Crane to Charles Flutey 1878/1987. Death Notice, Amelia Ann Flutey, *The Press*, 17/11/1932, p. 1.

⁸⁰² Marriage of Elizabeth Crane to Takana Manihera, 11 January 1881, Holy Trinity Anglican Church Lyttelton, Transcript of Marriage Registers, 1880-1920, 3b, (CPL).

⁸⁰³ Marriage Certificate: Catherine Victoria Mabel Smith to John Brown 1900/5735. Death Certificates: Mabel Brown 1934/2915; Alma Irene Brown 1923/9324. Birth Certificates: Jane Brown 1901/16054; Leslie Heaton Brown 1904/11611; Arnold Henley Rewi Brown 1906/21546; Olive Iris Lena May Siernus Brown 1910/23881; Bernard Brown 1912/10439; Norman Brown 1912/10440; Alma Irene Brown 1913/23728; Wiwi Martin Tekahuariki Brown 1917/5353; Lorna Waitai Brown 1920/1369. Succession to Teone Wiwi Paraone, SIMB 32, p. 108. Death Notices: Mabel Brown, *The Press*, 7/7/1934, p. 1 and Teone Wiwi Paraone, *The Press*, 4/3/1944, p. 1.

⁸⁰⁴ Hakita Hutika Huria to the Registrar, Native Land Court, 27/5/1940, CH270, 15/11/119, (ANZ-C).

⁸⁰⁵ Sheppard to Registrar, Native Land Court, 31/1/1939 and Alice Hariata Uru to Registrar, Native Land Court, 26/1/1939, CH270 15/11/119, (ANZ-C).

unable to work and has had to live on the charity of others and is urgently in need of some money to keep him going until he recovers his health again.”⁸⁰⁶



Illustration 25: L to R: Henare, Hinehou, Olive and Teoti Matene photographed at the opening of Te Waipounamu Hall in April 1901.

Source: Hocken Library.

Section 24 of Block A of the reserve was sold by Henare and Teoti Matene in 1926 to a Henley farmer, Patrick O’Leary in order to get money to pay off their debts and finance improvements to their farm. They were described as “working their mothers [sic] land which is mortgaged. They are middle aged men with few or none depending upon them. They are milking and farming and have some land leased. They desire to sell and to get money to pay debts of £73-15 and to buy cows, pigs, a horse, reaper, drill and dray. They appear to be steady hardworking men and not likely to squander the money in riotous living.”⁸⁰⁷ The brothers owned fifteen milking cows (£120); three breeding cows (£15), a drill (£60), a reaper and binder (£30), a dray and frame (£25) and one draught horse (£40) as well as interests in lands at Waikawa, Kaiapoi and the Taieri kāika which

⁸⁰⁶ Papprill, Son and Corcoran to Native Land Court, 9/2/1938, CH270, 15/2/1088, (ANZ-C). Also see John Steven Brown to Native Trustee, 30/8/1937 and John Steven Brown to Native Land Court, 13/4/1937, CH270, 15/2/1088, (ANZ-C).

⁸⁰⁷ South Island District Maori Land Board Record No: 809, Minutes, 25/5/1926, CH270 15/2/596, (ANZ-C).

had two houses on it, but this was not enough to cover their debts for threshing (£18-15-0), the hospital (£30) and a doctor's bill of £25.⁸⁰⁸ Their mother, Mere Hinehou, had previously sold her interest in A23 (just under 20 acres for 80 pounds) to the same farmer in 1926.⁸⁰⁹ Others chose to lease their land rather than sell it to a local farmer such as the Parata family's interest in A25 of just over 49 acres, which they leased to Nellie Douglass, a Pākehā woman who resided at St. Clair, Dunedin.⁸¹⁰ Shirley Tindall's father William Richard Wellman was a rabbitier and a very good blade shearer. Consequently the family moved around following his seasonal work from Lumsden to Ashburton, where he sheared and his wife worked as a cook.⁸¹¹ By 1939 the remaining Wellman brothers, both domiciled in Ashburton, sought to dispose of their SILNA interests in the Waitutu Block. William Wellman wrote to the Minister of Native Affairs seeking to dispose of the Waitutu land as they were "living in poverty."⁸¹² In short, in times of hardship when money was desperately needed, it was often the reserve land or SILNA land that was sold first to repay debts or buy necessities.

In many cases the blocks of land were sold to two types of purchaser: a local farmer or a family member. Decisions by some families to continue to reside at the kāika often meant the purchase of other family interests in sections in order to make their holdings economic. Such was the case with Bessie and Walter Dawson who chose to live out their lives at the kāika and thus bought a number of sections post 1920s. They purchased A6 on the kāika belonging to the Wellman family (in which fifteen people had an interest) in 1948. With the purchase of this property the Dawsons were "registered as the proprietors of almost all Native lands which comprise the Old Kaik at Henley and adjoining the 7 acres and 34.7 poles and the subject of the alienation."⁸¹³ They had

⁸⁰⁸ Particulars of Title of Owners, CH270, 15/2/596, (ANZ-C).

⁸⁰⁹ See CH270, 15/2/595, (ANZ-C).

⁸¹⁰ See CH270, 15/2/106, (ANZ-C).

⁸¹¹ Shirley Tindall, 15/6/2003.

⁸¹² W. R. Wellman to the Minister of Native Affairs, 17/7/1939, ABWN/6095/AccW5021/22/1099/15, Part 1, Box 571, (ANZ-W).

⁸¹³ Irwin and Irwin to Native Land Court, 30/1/1948, CH270, 15/2/1414, (ANZ-C).

already purchased section A4 from Ernest Sherburd in 1938 who had purchased it from Hana Kihau in 1924.⁸¹⁴ In the case of sections 1b, 2 and 14 in Block A, Ernest Henry Connor Sherburd bought out the interests of his great aunt Oriwia Paratene and her successors in 1926 in land that he had succeeded to through his uncle Tiaki Kona.⁸¹⁵



Illustration 26: Ernest Henry Connor Sherburd and Isabella Mackie on their wedding day in 1916.

Source: J. L. Garth (Personal Collection).

Connections to land elsewhere played a role in the dispersal of families away from Henley. Like the Brown and Matene families who migrated to other Kāi Tahu settlements at Taumutu and Tuahiwi respectively, the Yorston and Gutsell families moved to the Balclutha region because they had the option to do so through availability

⁸¹⁴ P. H. Dudson to Registrar, Social Security Department, 3/10/1949, and P. Gilfedder to South Island District Maori Land Board, 14/6/1924, CH270, 15/2/1186, (ANZ-C).

⁸¹⁵ See CH270, 15/2/454, (ANZ-C).

of land. A further attraction was the long traditional associations of the family to the site. It was here that previous generations had been born, raised and buried while the former Tautuku whaling station positioned the family as mixed descent. Marna Dunn recounts how land played a role in the removal of her family from Balclutha to Tautuku. The family chose to reside at Makati near Chaslands because of the cultural significance of the area. It was here that her mother and grandmother had interests in Māori land.⁸¹⁶ Over the 1930s, Marna's father was employed in seasonal labour. Sam Gutsell was the solo butcher at Balclutha where the family eventually moved living with kin and tracking possums at season's end, while the children lived with their grandmother Jane Yorston (nee Campbell), the daughter of Hannah Campbell (nee Palmer).⁸¹⁷ Those families that exchanged life at Maitapapa for settlement at alternative kāika did not outrun poverty. The Gutsell and Yorston families likewise had to continue to survive from seasonal work and seasonally caught foods. Marna recalls that the family was reliant on the bush and the sea for their food, such as pigs, mullet, flounder, trout, pipi, paua, cod, and pigeons.⁸¹⁸ The shift of Dunn's family to Makati saw the realization of Tiaki Kona's fears about the effect on small kāika of granting the SILNA awards. Prior to the SILNA legislation in 1906 the family lived further upriver, but after the awards they chose to take up their share in section three of the Tautuku block, building a punga hut.⁸¹⁹ This hut was superseded in the 1920s by a wooden house symbolizing the permanency of the migration initially from Maitapapa to Waihola, then to South Otago and finally Makati.

The Urbanization of the Taieri Families and loss of ties to the kāika

In the period when Pākehā New Zealanders in general were urbanizing Taieri families followed this trend rather than the post-World War Two pattern of wider Māori

⁸¹⁶ Marna Dunn, Tape 1, 25/11/1993, Bill Dacker Oral History Collection, (DPL).

⁸¹⁷ Ibid.

⁸¹⁸ Ibid., Tape 1 Side 2.

⁸¹⁹ Ibid., Tape 1.

urbanization. By 1926, when the kāika had lost the majority of its residents, over one third of New Zealand's population lived in the four main cities of Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin and nearly half the population lived in towns.⁸²⁰ In the shift from the kāika to towns, suburbs and cities families brought an extensive kinship network with them. This is particularly evident at Ashburton, where the Wellman and Drummond families migrated to work in the Alford Forest Mill, and all resided on Alford Forest Road in Allenton.⁸²¹ The family of William Wellman settled in Ashburton around 1936, where they lived with the Drummonds near the woollen mill, William worked for the council as a labourer and his wife Elsie in the mill.⁸²² Their ties of kinship are illustrated in their regular parties, where they provided home brew and entertainment, with bands and singing.⁸²³ Stephen Bryant's father Horace was raised by his grandmother and his brother Thomas by an aunt, while their widowed mother took on work at boarding houses to provide for them.⁸²⁴ Likewise, Marna Dunn and her cousin Shirley were raised by their grandmother in the Balclutha region, and in this extended family they were taught basic Kāi Tahu custom and belief but not encouraged to speak the language.⁸²⁵ Caroline and George Milward lived at 1 Josephine Street, Caversham for over 50 years. It was here that their children, and nieces and nephews were born, where Caroline's brother-in-law died in 1937, and where Caroline and George died in 1964 and 1954 respectively. At Taumutu, Eliza Koruarua raised her grandchildren while her nephew John whom she also raised acted as a bridge between Taumutu and Maitapapa. Eliza's granddaughter Moana Teihoka carried on the tradition of hosting family members. Moana's daughter Marea recalls that the family home was the centre of the community, and there was always

⁸²⁰ Erik Olssen, "Towards a New Society," in G. W. Rice (ed.) *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, (Auckland, Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 258.

⁸²¹ Rona Harris, 25/6/2003. Elizabeth Rangi to Angela Wanhalla, undated, p. 3. Dale Murphy, 11/6/2003.

⁸²² Shirley Tindall, 15/6/2003.

⁸²³ Rona Harris, 25/6/2003. Shirley Tindall, 15/6/2003.

⁸²⁴ Stephen Bryant, 12/4/2003.

⁸²⁵ Marna Dunn, Tape 2 Side 1, 25/11/1993, Bill Dacker Oral History Collection (DPL).

somebody staying.⁸²⁶ Thus women still played a central part in maintaining family connections through the system of hosting.

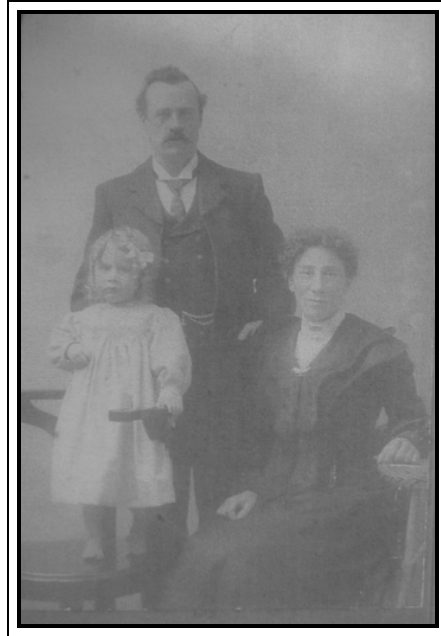


Illustration 27: George and Caroline Milward (nee Bryant) and their daughter Eileen.

Source: Ian Bryant (Personal Collection).

The maintenance of kin networks did act to retain some traditional knowledge, particularly regarding mahika kai and the use of traditional medicines. Marna Dunn was taught the correct plants for use as minor remedies while George Drummond passed on knowledge regarding nets.⁸²⁷ While her father William did not speak Māori, Shirley Tindall remembers that they used to go back to Henley for whitebaiting at the family home located near the river. ‘He had a lot to do with Henley’, often rowing them down the river and showing them how to make slides out of leaves and how to make whistles with flax to call birds.⁸²⁸

⁸²⁶ Marea Johnson, 24/1/2003.

⁸²⁷ Marna Dunn, Tape 1 Side 1, 25/11/1993 (DPL). Rona Harris, 25/6/2003.

⁸²⁸ Shirley Tindall, 15/6/2003.



Illustration 28: William Richard Wellman.
Source: Shirley Tindall (Personal Collection).

Some families maintained their links to Henley and remember talk of ‘it being there or going down to Henley.’⁸²⁹ Allan Lavell was born and raised at Dunedin and went to Henley often ‘as a child but did not understand mother wanting to go there all the time.’⁸³⁰ Thus, for a number of families Henley became a place to visit. Rona’s father Charles Drummond regularly visited Henley where he maintained a bach on the river edge to fish and drink.⁸³¹ Elizabeth Rangi also recalls that her family regularly returned to the kāika until 1941, when visits halted after the Second World War broke out and in addition, her mother was struck with Tb, spending two years in Waipiata Sanitorium in Southland before the family moved to Nelson.⁸³² After this move to Nelson “we never ever got back to Henley or the Taieri.”⁸³³ Dawn Marshall remembers holidaying at Henley in the 1940s, staying at Tiaki Kona’s old house on the kāika and visiting the

⁸²⁹ Rona Harris, 25/6/2003.

⁸³⁰ Allan Lavell, 27/6/2003.

⁸³¹ Rona Harris, 25/6/2003.

⁸³² Elizabeth Rangi to Angela Wanhalla, undated, p. 2.

⁸³³ Ibid.

Dawson and Hanna families.⁸³⁴ Ngaire Moses states that the home built by her paternal grandfather on the kāika was “let to tenants by my late father. . . . Sometimes he allowed relatives to occupy the house for holiday periods.”⁸³⁵ For Hazel McKenzie, Henley represented a place the family passed through on the way to ‘Fairview’ in Waitahuna, which was recognized as the ‘family base.’⁸³⁶ In many cases, Henley was reduced to a holiday site and playground from its former status as a place of cultural significance and permanent occupation.

The lack of remembered conversations or memories of Henley acted to remove not only familial connections to Maitapapa but also to erase cultural ties to Kāi Tahu. Many grandchildren of the generation who migrated away from the kāika remember very little talk of Henley as children. Given that his father did not claim his Kāi Tahu links, Ian Bryant recalls that there was little mention of Maitapapa/Henley in the household in which he was raised.⁸³⁷ Growing up, Elizabeth Lloyd remembers that Henley was not a big part of their life. Indeed, it was a ‘closed topic’ with the children only knowing that their grandfather William Wellman ‘came from south.’⁸³⁸ Joseph and Jane Crane farmed at Henley until 1915, and nearly all of their children were born at Otokia. Their granddaughter Hazel recalls that when mention was made of Henley it was with reference to the hardships created by the flooding, rather than the Kāi Tahu connections to the area.⁸³⁹ There was no talk of Henley to the children as Hazel’s parents ‘shared Waitahuna experiences and people rather than Henley’, but when the aunts and uncles got together

⁸³⁴ Dawn Marshall, 8/11/1993, (David Brown Collection). Allan Garth, Dawn’s brother also remembers holidaying at the kāika in the 1940s when there were at least four houses still standing on the land, Allan Garth, 13/12/2003.

⁸³⁵ Declaration of Ngaire Isobel Moses In the matter of Taieri A Subdivision 1b and in the matter of a meeting of owners to be held at Christchurch 27/5/1959, dated 23/5/1959, CH270, 15/2/1816, (ANZ-C).

⁸³⁶ Hazel McKenzie, 19/6/2003.

⁸³⁷ Ian Bryant, 20/6/2003.

⁸³⁸ Elizabeth Lloyd, 18/12/2003.

⁸³⁹ Hazel McKenzie, 19/6/2003.

‘talk of Henley came up.’⁸⁴⁰ Thus, Henley was often a topic of conversation that did not include the children as participants.

Outward migrations due to economic need in combination with intermarriage were thus a catalyst for the loss of cultural ties to Maitapapa. Migration hindered the maintenance of family ties. Family circumstance was a major factor determining whether brothers and sisters, cousins, aunts and uncles could maintain links. Tom Garth, adopted son of Elizabeth Brown and Thomas Garth, was raised at the kāika but his daughter Dawn recalls that after migrating away from Maitapapa her father lost contact with the rest of the Brown family, remaining close to only Jim and Gordon Brown.⁸⁴¹



Illustration 29: Elizabeth Garth with her adopted son Thomas (standing) and her eldest son Teone Wiwi Paraone.

Source: David Brown (Personal Collection).

⁸⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁸⁴¹ Dawn Marshall to David Brown, 8/11/1993, (David Brown Collection).

Given the economic context, and the poverty of many families, it is not surprising that a common theme of oral histories was the inability to maintain family contact. Indeed, like many of those who gave oral histories in Tony Simpson's *The Sugarbag years*, the Drummonds had to 'make do' during the Depression, the children wearing hand-me-downs, using flour bags to line trousers, and knitting clothes for Sunday School.⁸⁴² For some families, in a context of hardship in the 1930s and 1940s in conjunction with the refocusing of family identity in new areas of settlement such as Taumutu and Waitahuna, ties to Maitapapa became secondary to survival.

Another factor in the loss of Kāi Tahu cultural ties to Henley is explained by generation gaps, created through the early death of parents. Allan Lavell's mother Martha lost her parents at a young age. Her grandparents had already passed away and thus she was raised by her Pākehā kin in a cultural framework that facilitated the denial of her own and her children's Kāi Tahu heritage.⁸⁴³ The loss of Joseph and Jane Crane early in their grandchildren's lives represented the marginalization and loss of Henley from family memory, which was superseded by the strong connection of aunts and uncles to Waitahuna, the place where they were raised.⁸⁴⁴ Likewise, James Smith's death in 1929 when his youngest child was only fifteen years of age denied the next generation the opportunity of learning family narratives concerning Henley.⁸⁴⁵ This creation of gaps in knowledge about Henley was often also deliberate. Martin Palmer recalls that his relatives maintained a silence when it came to enquiries about Henley, Kāi Tahu ancestry and their land interests.⁸⁴⁶ This silence is not unusual. In researching his Māori heritage Russell Bishop found that the family stories told by aunts promoted British heritage while the silences in these narratives acted to suppress their Māori links.⁸⁴⁷ Similarly, Allan

⁸⁴² Rona Harris, 25/6/2003. Tony Simpson, *The Sugarbag years*, (Auckland, Godwit, 1997).

⁸⁴³ Allan Lavell, 27/6/2003.

⁸⁴⁴ Hazel McKenzie, 19/6/2003.

⁸⁴⁵ Hazel McHardy, 14/12/2003.

⁸⁴⁶ Martin Palmer, 8/4/2003.

⁸⁴⁷ Russell Bishop, *Collaborative Research Stories*, (Palmerston North, Dunmore Press, 1996), pp. 37-38.

Lavell's mother never spoke of the family's connections to Kāi Tahu until ten years ago; the Yorston family never maintained their Kāi Tahu links; and Brian Cunningham and Hazel McHardy recall that Henley was never spoken of amongst their families.⁸⁴⁸ In short, in many families there was a deliberate denial of any connection by kinship or 'blood' to Kāi Tahu from the 1930s.

It was continued intermarriage that in many cases served to hinder the maintenance of cultural ties to Maitapapa. Descendants recount that as children they were pressured to assimilate. Growing up at Taumutu, Marea Johnson found that it was 'just easier' to assimilate.⁸⁴⁹ Often this pressure was applied by the Pākehā partner of Kāi Tahu. Rona Harris recalls that she grew up knowing that she was of Kāi Tahu descent but was unable to affiliate culturally as her Pākehā mother saw this as an association with her father that she could not bear.⁸⁵⁰ Cath Brown also recalls that the complexity of being of mixed descent was often felt in terms of kinship ties. While her father often talked of Taieri as being 'home', the family never had the money to go there. A desire to return was undermined by the family links to Taumutu as both a Kāi Tahu community and through Cath's Pākehā mother Winifred.⁸⁵¹ In some cases, it was not always mainstream society into which former Taieri families assimilated. Instead, assimilation could encompass other Kāi Tahu communities where, in the case of Cath Brown, kinship ties were to both the Pākehā fishing community and the kāika at Taumutu. Nevertheless, over the 1930s, hardship, the difficulties of travel over long distances and continued intermarriage exerted an influence over whether the links were maintained with Maitapapa.

With dispersal and assimilation, Pākehā identity came to take precedence over Kāi Tahu cultural links. William Bryant farmed at Otokia and maintained links with

⁸⁴⁸ Brian Cunningham, 14/12/2003. Hazel McHardy, 14/12/2003. Email: Kevin Yorston to Angela Wanhalla, 2/7/2003.

⁸⁴⁹ Marea Johnson, 24/1/2003.

⁸⁵⁰ Rona Harris, 25/6/2003.

⁸⁵¹ Cath Brown, 1/12/2002.

family rather than Kāi Tahu in the form of the Cranes (the family into whom his sister Jane married) and Emma Grooby (the daughter of Robert Bryant).⁸⁵² Most commonly, the loss of Kāi Tahu links took place amongst farming families, who located their identity within their local community, illustrated in the way William Bryant was a representative on local and farming committees, took part in the annual Agricultural and Pastoral (A & P) show, and was an elder in the local church.⁸⁵³ The increased importance of local identity is reflected in the way in which 'Fairview', the property farmed by Joseph and Jane Crane (nee Bryant) became the place where their grandchildren congregated at holidays. Hazel McKenzie remembers with fondness travelling from Waimate for their annual holidays spent with her grandmother at 'Fairview'. In this two-storey house near Gabriel's Gully she slid down bannisters, fed the chickens, and cared for pet lambs and calves.⁸⁵⁴ Family connections to the Bryants and Cranes were maintained through sports tournaments and country shows which brought them together rather than 'things Maori'.⁸⁵⁵ Similarly, James Smith and his second wife settled in Balclutha where he farmed a property 'just up the river', and it was here that his granddaughter Lillian spent a family holiday in 1927.⁸⁵⁶

The centrality of farming to family identity was consolidated through marriage. While the sons of Joseph and Jane Crane stayed on the land at Waitahuna, their daughters maintained their farming identity in their marriages to stock agents. Caroline moved to Clinton with her husband who was a stock and station agent; Hazel settled in Waimate where her husband was a butter-maker; Norma settled in Dunedin where her husband worked for the stock and station firm Wrightson's; Doreen moved between Dunedin and

⁸⁵² Ian Bryant, 20/6/2003.

⁸⁵³ Ibid.

⁸⁵⁴ Hazel McKenzie, 19/6/2003.

⁸⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁵⁶ Lillian Vause to Angela Wanhalla, 10/6/2003.

Gisborne following her husband's trade as a stock agent for Dalgety's; and the youngest daughter taught music at Balclutha where her husband sold insurance.⁸⁵⁷



Illustration 30: The Crane family on Hazel's wedding day at Waitahuna. Back L to R: Fred, Milward. Middle L to R: Herbert, Arthur, Vona, William, Norman and Robert. Front L to R: Doreen, Hazel, Joseph, Jane and Carrie.

Source: Coral Beattie (Personal Collection).

Integrating into towns, suburbs and cities

Having resettled in towns, suburbs and cities the families completed their integration into mainstream Pākehā society. The state measured integration in a number of ways. These included housing standards and by association cleanliness and hygiene, employment and education. As Megan Woods has argued, the integration of Māori into urban areas was central to production of the modern Māori citizen and was reflected in bodies.⁸⁵⁸ It was the hybrid body that was perceived to be the most likely to integrate to

⁸⁵⁷ Hazel McKenzie, 19/6/2003.

⁸⁵⁸ Megan Woods, "Integrating the Nation: gendering Maori urbanisation and integration, 1942-1969," (PhD, University of Canterbury, 2002), p. 274.

Pākehā standards of living. Crucially, the appearance of the hybrid body, such as maintaining western standards of fashion, was a key to successful integration. Integration was both biological and cultural in character in twentieth century New Zealand, because within it bodies that were biologically hybrid were positioned as more amenable to social and cultural transformation.⁸⁵⁹ The biological and cultural aspects of integration were connected in the form of Pākehā physical appearance and education, both of which were pre-requisites in making the decision to assimilate. Through photographs and social achievements the mixed descent families illustrate a measure of successful integration.

A number of factors were held up by government officials as signs of successful integration in the early twentieth century. First, was education and speaking English. Russell Bishop situates education and European institutions such as the church as central to the story of the “Europeanisation of my mother’s family, the subsequent cultural and geographic dispersal of the family and the denial of this heritage.”⁸⁶⁰ Education was important to the families that valued it and could afford it. Between 1907 and 1919 William Joseph Bryant, Eliza Brown, Henry Brown, Thomas Garth and Joseph Arthur Crane all attended Taieri High School.⁸⁶¹ Education was also important in the history of Joseph and Jane Crane who lived at Henley until 1915 before they farmed a property at Waitahuna. Their daughters were educated at Otago Girls’ High School. This was the first state secondary school for girls in New Zealand, which offered an academic curriculum to its students, and many graduates went into the medical or teaching professions.⁸⁶² The youngest daughter of Jane and Joseph Crane, as listed above, went on to teach music at Balclutha.⁸⁶³ While Eric Bryant inherited the family farm from his

⁸⁵⁹ Woods, p. 277.

⁸⁶⁰ Bishop, p. 40.

⁸⁶¹ Admission, Progress and Withdrawal Register, 1907-1919, AG-629-1/6 (HL).

⁸⁶² Dorothy Page, Howard Lee and Tom Brooking, “Schooling for a Gendered Future: Gender, Education and Opportunity,” in Barbara Brookes, Annabel Cooper and Robin Law (eds.) *Sites of Gender: Women, Men and Modernity in Southern Dunedin, 1890-1939*, (Auckland, Auckland University Press, 2003), p. 106.

⁸⁶³ Hazel McKenzie, 19/6/2003.

father William and his brother had a small holding near the former Lake Tatawai, their brothers Charles and Allen were educated at Otago Boys' High School and King Edward Technical College in Dunedin, becoming an engineer for the Ministry of Works at Waitati and Invercargill and a doctor at Hokitika respectively.⁸⁶⁴ At his death in Dunedin, Ian Stevenson was a solicitor, as was William Overton.⁸⁶⁵ Charles Overton was a clerk at Green Island, located on the coast north of Kuri Bush.⁸⁶⁶ George Overton was Inspector of Schools in Dunedin and Nelson, and Eliza Brown was matron of Wellington Hospital and editor of the *New Zealand Nursing Journal*.⁸⁶⁷

A second measure of successful integration was good housing and by association western living standards. This meant three or four bedroom houses, not overcrowded and thus free of the disease perceived to be rampant in Māori settlements. The widespread official perception of poor Māori living standards and dirty conditions was felt amongst the former Taieri families. According to Marna Dunn and Kath Hislop, family tradition states that Hannah Campbell was very strict about hygiene, and was concerned to 'not let the family down', or having the neighbours say: 'look at those dirty Maoris.'⁸⁶⁸

Houses resonate in family memories, reflecting the way they are viewed as a symbol of settlement and permanency. The house and home is invested with social and cultural meaning.⁸⁶⁹ Further, houses are 'informative documents' providing detail on occupants, technology, and ethnicity.⁸⁷⁰ While a symbol of settlement and sign of wealth and prosperity in their size and materials, houses were a significant part of the familial

⁸⁶⁴ Ian Bryant, 20/6/2003. Like Otago Girls' High School, Otago Boys' High School offered its students an academic curriculum. These two schools were the predominant secondary schools in Dunedin. King Edward Technical College was established in 1908. It was co-educational and more commercially focussed than the traditional single-sex schools. Its curriculum was designed around both academic and practical subjects, such as dressmaking and engineering. See Page et al, pp. 106-109.

⁸⁶⁵ Ian Brandon Stevenson, 1951, DAAC D239 409 0550/51, (ANZ-D). Death certificate of Overton, 1916.

⁸⁶⁶ Death Certificate Charles Hezekiah Overton No: 19673757.

⁸⁶⁷ David Brown, 23/3/2003. Benjamin Overton, 1936, DAAC D239 299 15450, (ANZ-D). Death Certificate: George Ernest Overton 1966/4319.

⁸⁶⁸ Marna Dunn, 9 March 2003. Kath Hislop, Tape 2, Side 1, 6/4/1994, (DPL).

⁸⁶⁹ See Barabara Brookes (ed.) *At Home in New Zealand*, (Wellington, Bridget Williams Books, 2001).

⁸⁷⁰ Rachel Palmer, "Archaeology and Ethnicity of Settlement in Nineteenth Century South Otago," (MA, University of Otago, 1996).

and cultural landscape. It was in these houses that children were born, raised and married. Over the years numerous marriages, the majority of them interracial, took place in the homes of Robert Brown, Harriet Overton, Ani Wellman and Ani Sherburd positioning the home, domesticity and marriage as a potent social and cultural archive. However, with migrations by the early twentieth century, weddings at the kāika were few and memories dwell on the loss of houses and homes. For Ngaire Moses the family land at Taieri “consisted of a very old dwelling and some very old and very inadequate fencing. My father was born in the house and to the best of my knowledge and belief the house was built by my paternal grandfather.”⁸⁷¹ The two-storey homestead that housed numerous generations of the Brown family at the kāika was, according to Ted Palmer, demolished in the early 1990s.⁸⁷² In oral narratives, an absence of houses is perceived as a reflection of poverty and abandonment. Rona Harris expressed surprise at finding no sign of habitation on the kāika when she visited the kāika for the first time recently.⁸⁷³ The loss of these structures magnifies their importance in the family memory and underscores the cultural significance of the house and home in the numerous images in the family photographic archive.

The house was also a significant site of government involvement in Māori life in the first half of the twentieth century. Here it stood as a symbol of Māori ability to integrate to modern western standards of living conditions and hygiene. In 1937 the Māori Affairs Department instituted a survey of housing at Kāi Tahu settlements as part of a nationwide housing survey to investigate the extent of the ‘slum problem’ in New Zealand.⁸⁷⁴ Each settlement was visited and reported upon, each household was listed and each house was classified into one of the following categories: Good; Fair; Bad or

⁸⁷¹ Declaration of Ngaire Isobel Moses In the matter of Taieri A Subdivision 1b and in the matter of a meeting of owners to be held at Christchurch 27/5/1959, dated 23/5/1959, CH270, 15/2/1816, (ANZ-C).

⁸⁷² Ted Palmer, 9/4/2003.

⁸⁷³ Rona Harris, 25/6/2003.

⁸⁷⁴ See Penny Isaac and Erik Olssen, “The Justification for Labour’s Housing Scheme: The Discourse of the ‘Slum’, in Barbara Brookes (ed.) *At Home in New Zealand: History, Houses, People*, (Wellington, Bridget Williams Books, 2000), pp. 107-124.

Over-Crowded. Their residents were also reported upon in detail by a housing officer. These reports provide an indication not only of where former Taieri families had removed to but also their standard of living, the housing conditions, and the nature of the community in which they resided. The survey shows that it was Tuahiwi and Taumutu in Canterbury which were favoured destinations of former Taieri families. This is not surprising as there was a traditional link between Taieri and Canterbury forged out of the Ngati Toa raids on Kaiapoi and Banks Peninsula/Horomaka in the early 1830s.

The Tuahiwi Housing Survey of 1937 reflected on not only the nature of housing in the settlement but also on the role of a good home in improving living conditions and personal welfare. The report noted that there “appears to have been a general influx of people to this settlement from other districts during the past three years.”⁸⁷⁵ Former Taieri families located at Tuahiwi include William Crane and his second wife Rawinia Rupene and Olive Te Pura Wera, who was born at Henley to Ripeka Karetai and Henry Matene.⁸⁷⁶ Olive’s six-bedroom home was, according to the housing officer, “one of the better houses in Tuahiwi”, where she lived with three of her four children, her 76 year old father, her uncle Teoti Matene, as well as John Burnett, Tangihaere Morrell Weepu, Paora Pitama and Hinekura Chinnery.⁸⁷⁷ Nevertheless, poverty and illness marked the lives of the Martin family at Tuahiwi. In 1937, Olive presented evidence before the Native Land Court on the family’s poverty. Her father was blind and living off an old age pension, and the land at Tuahiwi had been mortgaged to the State Advances Corporation “to put the house up. We are still paying for it. The mortgage has been running for 21 years. Father has no income and is practically bedridden.”⁸⁷⁸ In 1936, William Crane was an elderly man who “receive[d] no income whatever”, owned no land, and “am entirely dependent on what my wife gets from the cows and on my pension.”⁸⁷⁹

⁸⁷⁵ Tuahiwi Housing Survey Report 1937, p. 3, MA 1/604 30/3/9, (ANZ-W).

⁸⁷⁶ Report 17 and Report 22, MA 1/604 30/3/9, (ANZ-W).

⁸⁷⁷ Report 22, MA 1/604 30/3/9, (ANZ-W).

⁸⁷⁸ Evidence of Olive Piper, 13/8/1937, SIMB 28, p. 288.

⁸⁷⁹ Evidence of William Crane, 31/1/1936, SIMB 28, p. 48.

It was not only at Tuahiwi that former Taieri families experienced poverty. At Taumutu all the “different homes of Maori in the locality” were visited and conditions were found to be “as bad as those in Little River.”⁸⁸⁰ At this date a number of former Taieri families were resident at Taumutu and their houses were inspected and rated as A, B or C. The A category was reserved for houses that compared with ‘the average European home’, while the category of B equated with a ‘fair’ home; category C homes were those viewed as on the verge of being condemned.⁸⁸¹ Teone Wiwi Paraone, born at Henley to Elizabeth Brown was recorded as a widower, the father of six children, and suffering from bouts of ill-health.⁸⁸² Of his children his son Leslie was a casual worker at Lincoln, Arnold was married to a Pākehā woman with three children and an adopted daughter at Lakeside, his eldest daughter Olive lived at Prebbleton as did another son Norman, while the youngest son Wiwi lived at Fisherman’s Point and the youngest daughter Waitai aged sixteen was recorded as working as a domestic in Christchurch.⁸⁸³ While only one of his children lived with him at Taumutu, Paraone lived a life of poverty. He did not work, received twelve pounds a year rent, had only a few landed interests of a small size and lived in a home that consisted of “2 tin shacks” that were in a “disgraceful condition and are condemned.”⁸⁸⁴

Also living at Taumutu was Moana Teihoka the granddaughter of Eliza Koruarua. Eliza was born at Henley to Robert and Jane Brown and moved to Taumutu on her marriage to Teone Paka Koruarua, one of the leading men of this settlement situated on the southern point of Lake Ellesmere.

⁸⁸⁰ Memo to the Maori Land Court, 13/10/1937, MA 1/605, 30/3/11, (ANZ-W).

⁸⁸¹ Ibid., p. 2.

⁸⁸² Report 3: Teone Wiwi Paraone (Brown), MA 1/605, 30/3/11, (ANZ-W).

⁸⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁸⁴ Ibid.



Illustration 31: The Maahunui Council in 1905. Teone Paka Koruarua is standing on the far left.

Source: Canterbury Museum.

While Teone and Eliza had no children from their marriage, they did raise Teone Wiwi Paraone from a young age at Taumutu as well as Eliza's two children from her first marriage: Frederick and Elizabeth Neil. Moana was born from the marriage of Eliza's daughter Elizabeth to a Greek fisherman Peter Sermous in 1900 and on the death of her mother was raised with her two half-sisters, Leah and Ria Koruarua, by Eliza and Teone. After the death of Teone in 1918 and Eliza in 1927, Moana inherited their interests in land at Taumutu and at Taieri. In 1937 she was a widow living at Taumutu with four of her five daughters: Lena aged eighteen, Hine aged seventeen and suffering from Tb, Ila aged fifteen and Marea aged thirteen.



Illustration 32: Lena Teihoka, Waitai Brown and Mere Teihoka at Taumutu in the early 1930s.

Source: Marea Johnson (Personal Collection).

Moana's husband, Hohepa Teihoka (the son of Tare Wi Teihoka, former upoko of Tuahiwi, and Mere Hopa, of a leading Taumutu family), died in 1934. The home in which they lived was "50 years old, rotting and hardly worth repairing."⁸⁸⁵ In addition to poor housing, Moana was surviving on a widow's pension of 78 pounds a year, plus ten pounds rent a year from landed interests, and engaged in small scale dairying, merely milking a few cows for supply to the local dairy factory.⁸⁸⁶ In short, living conditions at Taumutu were not much better than those experienced at Maitapapa. Migrating to other Kāi Tahu kāika where families had kin and land interests did not mean that a better life was to follow. Crucially, it did mean that Kāi Tahu culture and identity was maintained.

⁸⁸⁵ Report 4: Moana Te Hoka, MA 1/605, 30/3/11, (ANZ-W).

⁸⁸⁶ Ibid.

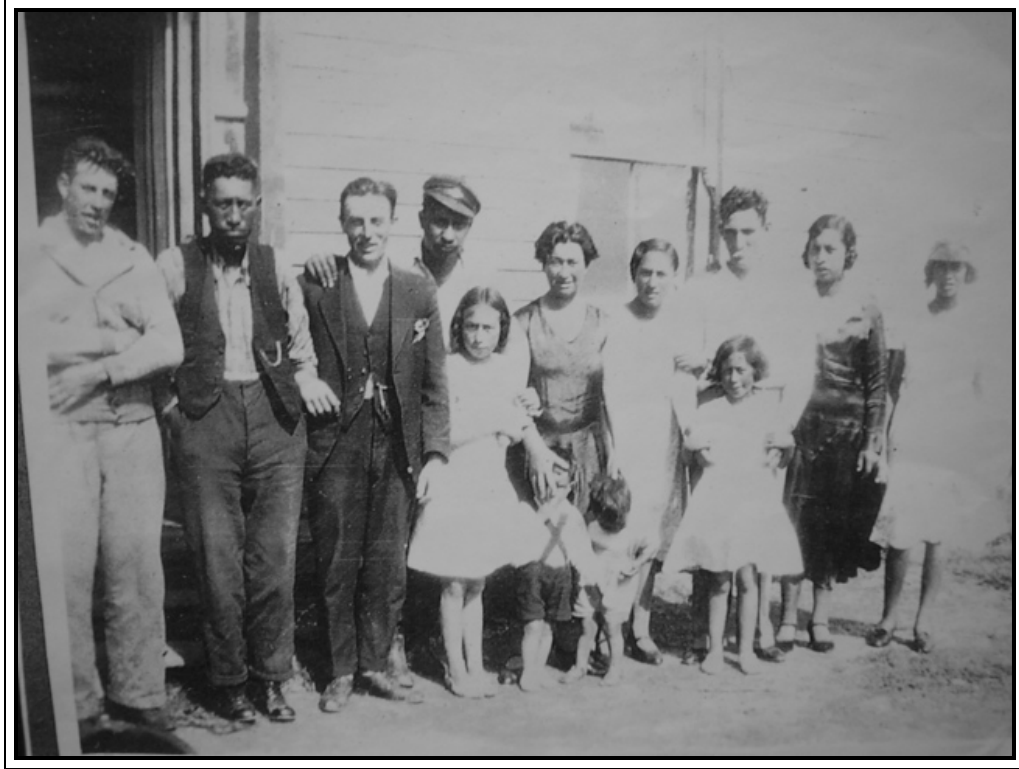


Illustration 33: L to R: William Wanhalla, Joe Teihoka, Roy Hamilton, Harry Martin, Moana Teihoka, Lena Teihoka, Arnold Brown, Mere Teihoka and Hine Teihoka. Front row: Ila and Marea Teihoka.

Source: Marea Johnson (Personal Collection).

As well as education and housing, intermarriage significantly altered physical appearance which laid the basis for acceptance as Pākehā and assisted in making the decision to assimilate. Ted Palmer, for instance, states that the Palmer family and its descendants ‘always passed for Europeans.’⁸⁸⁷ Being visibly white and dressing to widely held mainstream standards were viewed as important factors in being accepted into the wider community. For many, respectability was paramount. Shirley Tindall emphasizes that her father William was always well-dressed, never going without a hat or waistcoat.⁸⁸⁸ In short, it was clothing and dress that embodied respectability and marked

⁸⁸⁷ Ted Palmer, 9/4/2003.

⁸⁸⁸ Shirley Tindall, 15/6/2003.

the civilized status of an individual. For those of mixed descent, clothing masked ethnic difference.

Many of the photographs that have been included in this thesis exemplify the way in which dress acts as an indicator of status and respectability. Family photographs provide an insight into how clothing is a symbol of assimilation. Photography itself, an invention of the Victorian era, is now recognized by scholars as a tool of empire.⁸⁸⁹ Recently Nancy Stepan has examined the importance of photography to racial classification in the tropics, locating it as an essential tool of investigating, measuring and most importantly, representing 'race'. In particular, from the mid-nineteenth century there was an obsession with photographing 'racial hybrids', who were viewed as crucial to measuring amalgamation or racial degeneration.⁸⁹⁰ It was often women's bodies upon which the camera lens focused. Victorian photographs were visual texts that objectified the often nude 'female colonial body' as sexually desirable but also as a site of scientific and medical investigation.⁸⁹¹ Racial photography relied on colour and appearance for classification. However, hybrid bodies collapsed the black/white binary and thus the "racial album could not work well as a map of racial difference."⁸⁹²

In her investigation of the fortunes of five founding families of Victoria, British Columbia, Sylvia Van Kirk situated the family photograph and portrait as a central resource for illuminating the process of acculturation and examining social networks and family aspirations. Van Kirk found that the lack of portraits among some families often indicated social failure or unsuccessful assimilation to "British material culture."⁸⁹³ More recently, Katie Pickles has illustrated how colonized women in Victoria, Canada dressed as Queen Victoria as part of a "process of seeking authenticity through

⁸⁸⁹ See James Ryan, *Picturing Empire: Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire*, (Chicago, Chicago University Press, 1997).

⁸⁹⁰ Nancy Leys Stepan, *Picturing Tropical Nature*, (London, Reaktion Books, 2001), p. 86.

⁸⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

⁸⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 94.

⁸⁹³ Sylvia Van Kirk, "Tracing the Fortunes of Five Founding Families of Victoria," *BC Studies*, No. 115/116, Autumn/Winter 1997/98, p. 151.

appropriating/embodiment of the coloniser.”⁸⁹⁴ In this case, dressing as the embodiment of empire allowed mixed descent women to be cast as exemplars of assimilation, and paved the way for their acceptance amongst the more respectable classes in Victoria.

The pace at which assimilation was experienced by the mixed descent families of Taieri depended on a number of factors related to intermarriage, such as socio-economic background of the father, access to financial and material resources, education, physical appearance and location. In an investigation of the genealogies of six families of mixed descent to the mid-twentieth century John Harré found that “ancestry is not always of paramount importance in determining the ‘way of life’ of individuals who were the offspring of mixed marriages.”⁸⁹⁵ Instead, Harré found a combination of factors such as appearance, education, occupation, residence, strength of ties to either the Māori or Pākehā community and the attitude of parents determined the life choices of individuals and their identification as Māori, Pākehā or mixed descent.⁸⁹⁶



Illustration 34: The photograph of Tuarea of Maitapapa taken in the Burton Brothers Dunedin studio in 1869.

Source: Hocken Library.

⁸⁹⁴ Katie Pickles, “The Old and the New on Parade: Mimesis, Queen Victoria and Carnival Queens on Victoria Day in 1920s Victoria,” in Katie Pickles and Myra Rutherdale (eds.) *Contact Zones: Aboriginal and Settler Women in the Canadian Colonial Past*, (forthcoming, UBC Press, 2005), p. 331.

⁸⁹⁵ John Harré, “The Relevance of Ancestry as a Factor in Social and Cultural Choice,” *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 74, 1, 1965, p. 3.

⁸⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

The first photograph of Taieri Kāi Tahu was taken of Tuarea in Dunedin in 1869, at a time when Māori in general were, according to Michael King, becoming increasingly exposed to the photographic process.⁸⁹⁷ Nevertheless, the clothes worn by subjects in these photographs have often been ignored by historians when examining the experience of culture contact, particularly as dress serves as a significant indicator of ethnic and cultural identity.⁸⁹⁸ It was not until the 1890s, in a period of relative population growth and prosperity, that many mixed descent families at Taieri took it upon themselves to have their photographs taken in photographers' studios. This increased interest in the studio portrait was not unusual. Michael King has found that the records of studio photographers in the Wanganui region from the 1890s show "Maoris were actively commissioning pictures for their own, for family and for ceremonial use."⁸⁹⁹

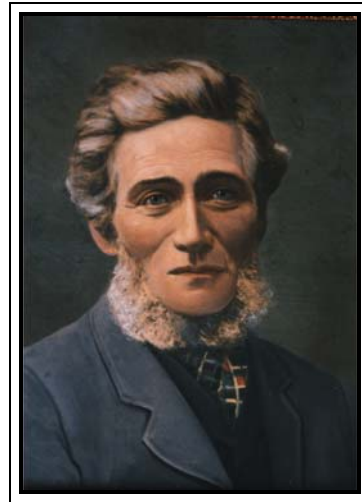


Illustration 35: Portrait of Jane Brown.

Illustration 36: Portrait of Robert Brown.

Source: David Brown (Personal Collection).

⁸⁹⁷ Michael King, *Maori: A Photographic and Social History*, (Auckland, Reed, 1996 edition), p. 1.

⁸⁹⁸ Sarah Coleman, "'Come over and help us': White Women, Reform and the Missionary Endeavour in India, 1876-1920," (MA, University of Canterbury, 2002), p. 164.

⁸⁹⁹ King, 1996, p. 2.

In the context of colonization and interest in racial science, photography visualized racial difference. While in colonial New Zealand, cartes-de-viste, daguerreotypes and postcards of Māori, and Māori women in particular, were produced for, and consumed by, an imperial audience not all photographs and images of Māori illustrated cultural and racial stereotypes. As Ann Maxwell argues, the studio portrait was taken up around the turn of the twentieth century by indigenous peoples to illustrate their “ability to master the codes of social dress and behaviour that characterized civility.”⁹⁰⁰ However, in taking up the studio portrait the mixed descent families were recording their successful assimilation and by extension the “transformations brought about by colonialism.”⁹⁰¹ Amongst the mixed descent families of Maitapapa, many studio photographs were transformed into portraits for the family, and served to illustrate their similarity to local settler families. The image of William Sherburd in Chapter Seven, as well as the portraits of Robert and Jane Brown (Illustrations 35 and 36) represent three examples of studio portraits taken for the family album that were subsequently transformed into painted and framed portraits for the living room wall. Like photographs and dress, these portraits played a part in the representation and transformation of ethnic identity. The black and white photograph on which the portrait of Robert Brown is based included directions for the painter, who was asked to give Robert a ‘half-caste’ complexion, but not too dark. His hair was to be a distinguished grey and his eyes were to be (and were) painted blue.

The family album and studio portrait are a representative record of how the subject wanted to be perceived by outsiders. When placed in historical context these photographs are a social and cultural archive, providing insight into the social and cultural world of their subjects. Many of the photographs of the Maitapapa families are of significant personal and social events such as weddings and family portraits. There is

⁹⁰⁰ Ann Maxwell, *Colonial Photography and Exhibitions: Representations of the ‘Native’ and the Making of European Identities*, (London, Leicester University Press, 1999), p. 13.

⁹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 163.

very little visual representation of customary practices. Rather, the photographs contained in family albums are formal in nature and represent respectability. Alongside language and dress, the formal studio portrait stands as another ‘fitting in’ strategy. A large number of the family photographs are inhabited by women, many of whom were the matriarchs of the kāika community. Images such as that of the formal portrait of Elizabeth Garth and her two sons, highlights the importance of family and gives an insight into women’s private worlds. This image seems relatively conventional in style and structure, but the family itself is unconventional. Elizabeth Garth was ‘half-caste’, her son Teone (sitting) was illegitimate and her youngest son Thomas was Pākehā and adopted. While on the surface photographs present a family as respectable and ‘normal’ they can also present the unconventional. Photographs are thus one means through which the history of mixed descent women and families can be accessed and recovered.⁹⁰²

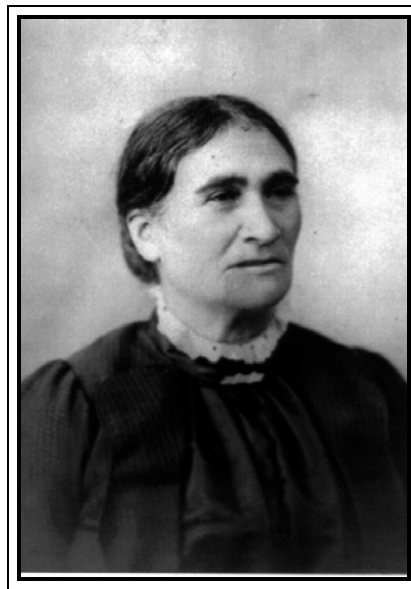


Illustration 37: Mere Kui Tanner, 1843-1920.

Source: Alexander Turnbull Library.

⁹⁰² Asa Briggs with Archie Miles, *A Victorian Portrait: Victorian Life and Values as seen through the work of studio photographers*, (London, Cassell, 1989), p. 6. Judith Binney, “Encounters across time: The makings of an unanticipated trilogy,” in Bain Attwood and Fiona Magowan (eds.) *Telling Stories: Indigenous history and memory in Australia and New Zealand*, (Wellington, Bridget Williams Books, 2001), p. 83.

The centrality of the studio portrait as a signifier of respectability is underscored by the donation of some portraits, such as that of Mere Kui Tanner, to the Otago Settler Museum's Portrait Gallery, where images of many of Otago's early British settlers are housed and displayed. Most importantly, while these photographs record that the experience of being mixed descent in late nineteenth century New Zealand was highly visual in nature, they conceal more than they reveal. The poverty and poor living conditions at Maitapapa from the 1890s are invisible in formal portraits and studio photographs where the subjects were dressed in their best formal attire.

Dress and representation of hybrid bodies in western attire are central aspects in the process of racial transformation. Indeed, Marianne Hirsch argues that the family photograph is an instrument of 'sameness' rather than 'otherness.'⁹⁰³ In this sense, the family album contributed to the construction of ethnic, individual and family identity. Wedding portraits can be viewed in a similar manner. The photographs of weddings in this chapter and throughout the thesis reinforce this racial transformation at a time when the formal setting of the church became the favoured site of the marriage ceremony, replacing the more informal and private ceremony within the home. This movement to the church was accompanied by formal wedding portraits, with the bride in a white wedding dress and the groom in his best suit, as an indicator of social standing and status. Between 1927 and 1940 there were no weddings at the kāika, while five took place in private homes and three at the registry office. The remainder, a total of nineteen, took place in the church. All those who engaged in marriage in this period were of Pākehā appearance confirmed by wedding portraits, where there is little acknowledgement of ethnic difference or hybridity. These formal portraits are constructions that represent persons of mixed descent as respectable, civilized and successfully assimilated into Pākehā society.

⁹⁰³ Marianne Hirsch (ed.) *Family Frames: photography, narrative and postmemory*, (Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1997), p. 7.

Conclusion

In the period 1927 to 1940, the majority of the mixed descent families who had resided at the Maitapapa kāika in the first two decades of the twentieth century had migrated to other parts of the country. A number of trends are evident in these migrations. First, a clustering effect took place amongst the poorer families, whereby those who formerly had been labourers moved off the land and into the factories. Second, a small number of families chose to move to other kāika where they had land and kinship ties. Third, there were also a number of farming families, representing the most upwardly mobile of the families. From probate records, we know that a number of these men and women left behind estates, while the remainder of the families merely exchanged poverty at Maitapapa for poverty elsewhere. This migration away from the kāika did not take place suddenly. Instead, diaspora was built upon an already present trend to leave in the form of intermarriage to the point where Kāi Tahu cultural identity was exchanged by many for Pākehā identities in a range of localities. In leaving the kāika many families left behind ties to Kāi Tahu culture and this is illustrated in family photographs. Indeed, these images demonstrate the successful integration of the mixed descent families into Pākehā society. The presence of these images in the family album does indicate that while the families became integrated into the towns and cities of New Zealand their history and that of the community has survived ethnic transformations. While family histories have been retained, the Kāi Tahu presence at Maitapapa has not. By the 1940s, Maitapapa was bereft of families and the only visible presence of the once former strong Kāi Tahu community could be seen in the urupā and the few houses that remained.

CONCLUSION

The scholarship on Māori-Pākehā intermarriage in New Zealand is small and prescribed, with a tendency to focus on the North Island experience. The Kāi Tahu experience of intermarriage took place in a context of early culture contact, beginning with sealers in the late eighteenth century. Not only did intermarriage take place at a very early stage in the Kāi Tahu rohe; it also took place subsequently on a much wider scale than in the North Island. The history of intermarriage at Maitapapa is reflective of a wider Kāi Tahu narrative of culture contact and the colonial experience. The Maitapapa families experience of colonization was in many ways very similar to the pathways of numerous Kāi Tahu families at other kāika over the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century. The underlying similarities centre on land alienation, erosion of mahika kai, poor quality reserve land, poverty, mobility and cultural loss, which is reflected in the excellent and extensive scholarship on Kāi Tahu history and identities. However, the sustained nature of intermarriage amongst the families and the key part played by intermarriage in the disappearance of the community also distinguishes the history of Maitapapa and its mixed descent families from the general trajectory of Kāi Tahu histories as they have been explored by a range of scholars over the late twentieth century. In the context of one small Kāi Tahu community intermarriage and its resultant hybridity not only shaped the nature of culture contact, but was an essential part of the lived experience, and was key to the development of identities.

This thesis has demonstrated that intermarriage has been central to the history of Maitapapa and its families. This is clearly illustrated in marriage patterns. From the 1840s the community that developed at Maitapapa was of mixed descent and lived alongside a small Kāi Tahu population of ‘refugees’ from Canterbury. Sustained intermarriage from the 1850s produced a community of a particular character and

identity. By 1889, those men and women who entered into the 27 marriages that had taken place at Maitapapa at that point were of mixed descent; 21 of those marriages were entered into with Pākehā men and women. This pattern of sustained intermarriage continued into the twentieth century. Another 43 marriages had taken place by 1915. Of these marriages, 34 were entered into with Pākehā partners. Between 1850 and 1940, a total of 116 marriages had been entered into by residents and former residents of Maitapapa and of these 99 were with Pākehā partners. Significantly, all but one of the 116 people who entered into these marriages was of mixed descent. These statistics demonstrate that intermarriage shaped the demographic character of the community at the kāika over a period of 100 years. However, the nature of these marriage patterns and the manner in which the development of a mixed descent population shaped identity is much more nuanced and complex than the statistics illustrate.

Intermarriage in the South Island was a contact zone, and it is through a focus on women and whānau that the nexus between gender and ‘race’ can be interrogated. Intermarriage played a role in the history of the Maitapapa community from the 1830s. The first phase of intermarriage took place in the whaling era, with the establishment of a whaling station on Moturata Island at the mouth of the Taieri River. The station was in existence from 1839 to 1844, and was home to a small group of whalers and their Kāi Tahu wives. The general character of intermarriage at this time follows the pattern outlined by Atholl Anderson of customary marriages between ‘full-blood’ Kāi Tahu women and non-Māori men. An emphasis on women’s lives and experiences illustrates that the nature of intermarriage amongst these women and their whaler partners was a complex process that encompassed a range of experiences. Scholars have pointed to intermarriage as an important Kāi Tahu strategy that created economic and political alliances with male newcomers through ties of kinship bringing mutual benefits for both parties. However, an emphasis on intermarriage as alliance for the purposes of trade and access to resources has failed to account for women’s agency within the intermarriage

experience. Intermarriage could range from short-term arrangements to Christian marriages. In the case of Patahi who married the whaler Edward Palmer, it involved abandonment, the loss of her children and a wider kinship network. However, in many cases the first phase saw many marriages develop into relationships that were long-term and meaningful, with many being formalized on the mission station from the 1840s.

Assimilation was a key feature of intermarriage at Maitapapa for both Kāi Tahu and Pākehā. In the whaling era marriage integrated male newcomers into Kāi Tahu communities, but with the arrival of missionaries in southern New Zealand, Kāi Tahu women and their Pākehā partners moved from customary marriages to the formalization of their relationships on the mission station. In the context of the mission station, marriage was a tool of ‘civilization’ and assimilation to western standards of morality. As the marriage of Koronaki/Caroline Brown to the former whaler John Howell in 1845 illustrated, this shift was also accompanied by the development of a new marriage trend among men, involving a preference for the ‘half-caste’ wife. This latter marriage pattern was evident at Maitapapa from the 1840s.

With formal colonization of the Otago Block from 1848 a second phase of intermarriage took place in which single white men were assimilated into the Maitapapa community by the creation of kinship ties and the responsibilities that these entailed. From the 1840s to the mid-nineteenth century, intermarriage at Maitapapa was patriarchal in pattern. In this sense, the majority of marriages were entered into by mixed descent women and male Pākehā settlers who worked to develop the colonial economy. By 1868, intermarriage had secured former whalers and British settlers land on the reserve with at least six non-Māori men living there and cultivating land, disrupting the state notion of the reserve as a Kāi Tahu site of occupation. This pattern of assimilating male newcomers into the kāika community continued into the first decade of the twentieth century.

While intermarriage at Maitapapa served to integrate newcomers into a community, it also heralded outward migration. From the 1850s, intermarriage at

Maitapapa was associated with dispersal and assimilation. Given the gendered nature of intermarriage patterns at the time, it was mixed descent women who usually migrated away from the kāika. These women married the sons of local settlers who did not need access to reserve land. These women not only entered into intermarriage but also embarked on a pattern of migration into the outlying river settlements of Waiholā, Taieri Beach, Otokia, Taieri Ferry and Kuri Bush. With intermarriage and dispersal came integration, assisted by Pākehā physical appearance, western dress and education. By the late 1870s, a number of these women had been educated at local schools where it was noted that they spoke English and rarely spoke Māori at home. These women integrated into local farming communities and achieved a measure of social standing and respectability. Thus, for mixed descent women, intermarriage was a tool of assimilation.

The unstable and ambivalent place of the hybrid body in colonial New Zealand has been a theme of this thesis. Hybridity challenged widely understood racial hierarchies. Sustained intermarriage at Maitapapa from the 1850s produced a population that was largely of mixed descent by the late nineteenth century, which had economic and cultural implications for both Kāi Tahu and colonial officials. Those of mixed descent symbolized the transgression of racial hierarchies and their lived experience was shaped by cultural ambivalence. Caroline Brown, on her marriage to a white man for instance, was neither Kāi Tahu nor Pākehā and thus inhabited a ‘lonely’ place between two cultural worlds. In the ability to jump between identity categories, the ‘half-caste’ represented a danger to the progress of colonization and civilization and thus became a key site of state reform and intervention. In particular, colonial officials sought to reform and manage the mixed descent population through the education of ‘half-castes’ in British culture, values, and language and moral standards.

In their ability to transgress boundaries of identity those of mixed descent challenged customary systems of land ownership. Kāi Tahu leaders argued that the state had an economic responsibility for persons of mixed descent, who placed pressure on

limited land and resources. In the period 1844 to 1868, the Taieri Native Reserve, which was exempted from purchase under the Otago deed of 1844, had its boundaries marked out by surveyors and the Native Land Court, and contested by Kāi Tahu. As the evidence presented before the Native Land Court in May 1868 indicated in Chapter Three, it was not just boundaries that were contested but the rights to ownership in the reserve between Kāi Tahu and those of mixed descent. This contest over rights grew out of a fear about the creation of 'half-caste' lands that, like their owners' shifting identity, could also jump categories and be more vulnerable to alienation. This cultural ambivalence of the 'half-caste' had to be contended with by Kāi Tahu in a context of rights to, and access within, blocks of reserve land that were too small. The difficulty posed to Kāi Tahu by those of mixed descent was somewhat resolved by the passage of the Half-Caste Land Grants Acts of 1877 to 1888, which awarded Crown grants to 'half-castes' in land near Native Reserves and thus created distinct and separate living spaces based on descent. While in practice these land blocks were rarely inhabited, they are evidence that land rights of mixed descent persons were clearly understood as distinct and separate from those of Kāi Tahu.

One way in which the state attempted to manage the mixed descent population was through census enumeration. From 1874 when a 'race' question was first posed, the general census was officially informed by racial thought and defined racial categories and boundaries. It was through the census that the success of intermarriage as a tool of assimilation was monitored and commented upon. Such success was dependent upon the official definition of racial categories. Under census legislation, those of 'full-blood', 'three-quarter-caste' and 'half-caste' descent were defined by statute to be Māori, while those less than 'half-caste', such as 'quarter-castes' were categorized as 'European'. However, the difficulty of defining who was and was not Māori amongst those of mixed descent was repeatedly commented upon by census enumerators. In many cases, census categories were arbitrary and imprecise. Quite often physical features, dress and living

conditions rather than just ‘blood quantum’ influenced the inclusion of persons of mixed descent as Māori or ‘European’ by census-takers. Thus the ‘half-caste’ continued to defy categorization and instead occupied an ambivalent and unstable position in the national census.

By the late nineteenth century the growing mixed descent population had been accommodated in Kāi Tahu tribal identity by its leaders. At every community enumerated under the 1891 census of Kāi Tahu settlements, persons in residence of mixed descent, denoted by a ‘blood’ category, were listed. That graduations of ‘blood quantum’ were employed in the 1891 census of Kāi Tahu indicates that by 1891 the Kāi Tahu leadership interpreted identity on the basis of not only descent but also residence and participation. This census revealed that Maitapapa was one of the most intermarried Kāi Tahu settlements by the late nineteenth century. The Taieri population with its large ‘quarter-caste’ demographic was atypical in contrast to the wider Kāi Tahu demographic. Under contemporary official definitions this largely ‘quarter-caste’ population was ‘European’ in ‘blood’ and thus had implications for identity.

Persons of mixed descent represented an unstable ‘racial’ category and, by extension, so did their identity. As has been noted by a range of scholars, as a result of their physical hybridity, those of mixed descent inhabited and straddled two cultural worlds. While the families were ‘European’ in ‘blood’, the identity articulated by a strong community at Maitapapa between 1890 and 1915 was in practice Kāi Tahu as well as mixed descent. This period is significant in the history of the mixed descent families of Maitapapa. It was a time when a core community of predominantly mixed descent was established at the kāika and when political organizing and social occasions brought the community together. These social and cultural events served to reinforce the Kāi Tahu identity of the community to the wider iwi and to outsiders. At a time when intermarriage continued to take place, the families aligned themselves with Kāi Tahu politics. Evidence of their Kāi Tahu identity was seen in their presence at hui and land court hearings

throughout the South Island, as well as the contribution of money to the Kāi Tahu Claim/Te Kereme from the 1890s. Not only was their Kāi Tahu identity articulated by the community, but they were perceived as such by government officials such as Alexander MacKay, whose Middle Island Commission sat to hear evidence at Maitapapa in 1891. In addition, the fight to keep Lake Tatawai from being drained, in order to maintain access to significant food resources and raw materials important in cultural practices, further positioned the families and the community as Kāi Tahu in politics and cultural identity. On a more local level, social events brought the kāika families and the residents of the outlying river settlements together in an articulation of hybrid identity. The establishment of Te Waipounamu Hall, the extension of the urupā to include burial for Pākehā men and the continuation of intermarriage and weddings ceremonies at the kāika in family homes and the newly erected hall are all evidence of this. The use of the hall for religious services and weddings, as well as for hosting social gatherings, is a reflection of a period of cultural accommodation and integration in the lower Taieri.

Paradoxically, while intermarriage contributed to the development of a mixed descent community that began to express in their social practices a hybrid identity, intermarriage was ultimately key to the loss of community and contributed to an erosion of cultural ties to Maitapapa. The result was the dispersal of families and their assimilation into mainstream Pākehā society. The period of demographic recovery between the 1890s and 1915 gives an impression of a stable population. Nevertheless, mobility was beginning to give way to migrations out during this period, as families sought better economic opportunities. Occupational mobility and settlement patterns are evident in sources such as birth certificates and oral histories, and as seen in Chapter Seven, many took up work with New Zealand Railways and in the woollen mills, while others became farmers in a wide range of places in southern New Zealand. In both patterns, ‘marrying out’ was integral to disintegration and defined the colonial experience for the mixed descent families of Maitapapa

The loss of the kāika community can be argued to be the outcome of economic pressures. The reserve land was inadequate, its title fragmented by the 1920s, so that individuals held small uneconomic shares. However, a core community which articulated a Kāi Tahu identity living at the reserve up until 1915 suggests that despite fragmented title, the land was being cultivated and farmed. A solely economic argument for disintegration is thus unsatisfactory. It was not inadequate land or lack of employment which were the decisive factors in the loss of the community. Disintegration was already underway from the 1850s, as intermarriage became increasingly common amongst the mixed descent women and men of the kāika. These marriages produced a mixed descent population largely of ‘quarter-caste’ descent that, given their education, physical appearance and further intermarriage, could achieve social and economic success in Pākehā society.

Intermarriage defined the Maitapapa families both by descent and by appearance. By the first decade of the twentieth century the Kāi Tahu families of Maitapapa were overwhelmingly of ‘quarter-caste’ descent or less. As the photographs throughout this thesis illustrate, physical appearance was important to those living as mixed descent. As ‘quarter-castes’, many of those who left the kāika were able to use their appearance to pass as ‘white’. While there was little mention of ‘passing’ in oral histories, informants did indicate that dress and respectability were emphasised by their grandparents. Emphasis on appearance indicated that the *ability* to assimilate could be a significant factor in the *choice* to assimilate and to achieve upward mobility. Successful assimilation into local communities is evident in the sometimes deliberate attempt by families to deny links to Maitapapa. In doing so, cultural ties to Kāi Tahu were also denied. In many cases, particularly with successful farming families, Kāi Tahu identity gave way to Pākehā identity by the middle of the twentieth century. By 1940, the former Taieri families appeared ‘European’ and had integrated into small towns, suburbs and cities. Many of the kāika families represented their successful assimilation to western standards

of ‘civilization’ through formal portraits that adorned the living room wall. Most importantly, these portraits and photographs provide a map of ethnic transformation. Studio portraits, of weddings in particular, provide evidence of an individual and family desire to ‘fit in’. These images indicate that marriage, ‘European’ features and dress were central to the assimilation of mixed descent women and men into mainstream Pākehā society.

Intermarriage has long been accepted and recognized as contributing to Kāi Tahu identity. This history of early contact and intermarriage has resulted in a tribal identity that is sometimes questioned as non-authentic, and, as Hana O’Regan has illustrated, shaped the modern perception of Kāi Tahu as the ‘white tribe.’ Moreover, this history of long-term intermarriage amongst Kāi Tahu has given rise to generations who found their mixed descent ancestry a source of shame. This has certainly been the case for the mixed descent families of Maitapapa. Theirs is a story of cultural disintegration and loss. As already noted, while marriage brought new members into a community it also ultimately contributed to its loss. Not only did the Maitapapa community physically disappear; but the cultural ties of its erstwhile families to Kāi Tahu and to Maitapapa were also eroded. For most families assimilation meant the loss of cultural knowledge represented in the loss of the language, the decline of cultural traditions, the inability to identify with Maitapapa as a site of cultural significance and the erosion of ties to a Kāi Tahu identity, both at the whānau and tribal level.

While the loss and assimilation of the families into Pākehā society was one outcome at Maitapapa, it is also a story of survival in the face of sustained intermarriage. The oral histories conducted for this thesis indicate that it is the generation that was born outside of the kāika who are now determined to re-forge cultural links with Kāi Tahu. With the hearings of the Kāi Tahu Claim before the Waitangi Tribunal and the successful settlement of that Claim in 1999, many Kāi Tahu have shed the shame and even anger associated with their mixed ancestry and chosen to reclaim their whakapapa. In the face

of a history of overwhelming loss, the experience of readily finding these families and gaining access to their personal stories and by extension that of Maitapapa, demonstrates quite clearly that despite dispersal and the process of assimilation, the community has survived. Family histories and photographs confirm the significance of whakapapa and kinship relationships in keeping a sense of community. The informants who have contributed to this thesis shared personal accounts of shame and anger, the culmination of 60 years of dislocation from Maitapapa and the deliberate denial of Kāi Tahu ancestry of earlier generations. Significantly, their accounts also demonstrate that cultural identity has survived and that the Maitapapa community, while not bounded to the geographical terrain of the kāika and Native Reserve, still exists today.

The history of intermarriage and the mixed descent families of Maitapapa indicate the importance of historical specificity when interrogating and investigating the trajectory of culture contact. This thesis has demonstrated a sustained pattern of intermarriage and its role in its physical disappearance of a community which distinguishes Maitapapa from other Kāi Tahu kāika. On one level, the history of the mixed descent families represents a localised narrative of culture contact in all its complexity. On a more general level, the history of intermarriage and the mixed descent families of a small community point to a need to examine the question of culture contact and colonization as a highly gendered experience that can be investigated and interrogated from the perspective of the whānau. In doing so, the fractured, contested, multiple and very personal nature of the colonial experience is illuminated. This family-centred history of intermarriage and hybridity has demonstrated that culture contact and the colonial experience was a mutual exchange and was highly gendered in nature. The study of intermarriage in one small community demonstrates the very specific and regional outcomes of culture contact, while also pointing to the complexities of colonial understandings of 'race' and its intersection with gender. It highlights the challenge of hybridity to the formation of identity, and gives nuance to the process of intermarriage and its long-term outcome, assimilation.

APPENDIX ONE

TAIERI NATIVE RESERVE SUCCESSION LIST, 1868-1889

Date	Section	Owner	Successor	Interest	Reference
20/5/1868	Block A	9 Trustees	Rawiri te Uraura Werita Tuarea Matene Korako John Connor Hopa te Hikutu Wi Naihira Hoani Hape Robert Brown Toeti Korihi Hamuera te Makahi Tira Natanahira Waruwarutu Pita te Hori Tiaki Parete Tohitu Tumeho Matene Tare Matene Makoti Pape Ropata Makareta te Hoko Mere Hinehou Nane (Jane Foster) Hinewharitea Mate Whitio Elizabeth Pratt Tera Hopa Sarah Palmer Elizabeth Crane Meri Kui Hana Haukawe Jane Palmer Eliza Brown Harriet Palmer	1173 acres	MB1a/28-31
15/11/1886	Block A 30 acres	Makarita Te Hoko	Heni Naihira Henere Parete		MB3/119
15/11/1886	Block A 10 acres	Hinewharitea	Oriwia Paratene Ani Sherburd John Connor Rupene Kuri Rakera Taunoa Paratene Te Uki Rupapera Te Uki Henere Hohepa Arama Tahuna Tom Brown		MB3/122 MB6/417 Box 263

			Caroline Howell Bob Brown Sarah Brown Betty Pratt Rewi te Akau Rora Paina		
15/11/1886	Block A 15 acres	Tini Rewiti	Henare Karetai Mere Te Kaeha Karetai Renata Karetai		MB3/125
15/11/1886	Block A 36-02-20	Hamuera Te Makahi	Oriwia Paratene Ani Sherburd John Connor		MB3/125-6
7/12/1886	Block A 66-02-20	Rawiri Te Uraura	Wereta Tuarea Hoani Hape te Ao Rimene Tira Te Kiwha Rawinia Rupene Oriwia Paratene John Connor Ani Sherburd	1/3 rd 1/3 rd 1/3 rd	MB4/21
2/3/1887	Block A	Patae Tuakau	Hana Kihau	06-02-00	MB5/147 Box 263
28/2/1887	Block A 06-02-00	Heremaia Tohitu	Mere Kui Peti Crane	2/3 rd 1/3 rd	MB5/124
4/6/1887	Block A	Tare Matene	Matene Korako	06-02-00	MB8/49 Box 263
4/6/1887	Block A	Tera Hopa	Hariete Karetai	10 acres	Box 263
4/6/1887	Block A 6.5 acres	Teoti te Korihi	John Connor Ani Sherburd Horiwia Paratene Hoani Hape Rawiri Kuri Rimene Tira Te Kiwha	0-2-13 2-2-28 1-0-13 0-2-8 0-2-6 0-2-6 0-2-6	MB8/57
30/6/1887	Block A	Hinewaritea	Ani Sherburd John Connor Paratene te Uki Rupapera te Uki Rakera Taunoa Rupene Kuri Henare Hohepa Arama Tauhuna John Tuheke Tom Brown Caroline Howell Bob Brown Sarah Brown Betty Pratt Rewite te Akau Rora Paina	1/5 th 1/5 th 1/5 th 1/5 th 1/5 th	MB6/417 See also MB3/122 and MB5/125
1/3/1887	A5	Partition	Mere Kui Peti Crane	04-00-28.4 02-00-14.1	Box 262
2/3/1887	A6	Sale	Ani Wellman		MB5/145
2/3/1887	A10	Subdivided	No owner listed	Equal shares	MB5/145
2/3/1887	All	Subdivided	Makai	30 acres	MB5/145

			[illeg] Palmer Mrs Sherburd Pape Ropata	30 acres 35 acres 35 acres	
4/6/1887	A12 80 acres	Teoti te Korihi	Tiaki Kona Ani Sherburd Horiwia Paratene Werita Tuarea Makarini Mokomoko Hoani Hape Rawinia Kuri Rimene Tira Te Kiwha	6-2-27 6-2-26 13-1-13 26-2-28 shares above 6-2-28 6-2-26 6-2-26 6-2-26	MB8/58
15/9/1883	A15 100 acres	Pita te Hori	Poihipi te Hua Rina Koeko Tiemi Rikiti		Box 263
1/3/1887	A17	Partition	Hopa te Hikitu	29-03-33.3	Box 262
2/3/1887	A17	Subdivided	Elizabeth Crane	60 acres	MB5/145
1/3/1887	A18	Partition	Makoti	13-03-31.6	Box 262
1/3/1887	A19a	Partition	Tiemi Rikiti Poihipi te Hua Riria Koeko		Box 262
1/3/1887	A19b	Partition	Waruwarutu	29-03-23	Box 262
1/3/1887	A20	Partition	Heni Naihira Henare Parete Tiaki Parete Henare Karetai Ani Sherburd John Connor Paratene te Uki Rupapera te Uki Rakera Taunoa Rupene Kuri Henare Hohepa Arama Tahuna John Tuheke Tom Brown Caroline Howell Bob Brown Sarah Brown Betty Pratt Rewi te Akau Rora Paina	14-03-30.5 14-03-30.5 49-03-09 09-03-33.8 00-03-39.38 00-03-39.38 00-01-00 00-01-00 00-02-00 00-01-39.38 00-01-39.37 00-03-39.38 00-03-39.38 00-01-23.75 00-01-23.75 00-01-23.75 00-01-23.75 00-01-23.75 00-03-39.38 00-03-39.38	Box 257
2/3/1887	A20	Subdivided	Mere Hinehou	20 acres	MB/5/145
1/3/1887	A21 35-03-08	Partition	Hannah Campbell Mary Bryant	Equally	Box 263
1/3/1887	A22	Partition	Elizabeth Crane	19-03-19.7	Box 263
2/3/1887	A23	Subdivided	Rawiri Hoani Hape	20 acres 20 acres	MB5/146
2/3/1887	A24	Heni Parera	William Palmer Harriet Palmer James Palmer John Palmer George Palmer Harry Palmer Beatrice Palmer	35 acres	MB5/146 Box 263

			Charles Palmer Frederick Palmer Amos Palmer		
1/3/1887	A25	Partition	Peti Pratt	45-03-04	Box 263
1/3/1887	A26 29-03-8.2	Partition	Tiaki Kona Henare Karetai Mere Fowler Renata Karetai	14-03-24.1 14-03-24.1	Box 263
1/3/1887	A27	Partition	Tira	29-03-19.3	Box 263
1/3/1887	A28	Partition	Wereta Tuarea Hoani Hape	59-02-35.7 39-03-10.5	Box 263
1/3/1887	A31 34-03-13.9	Partition	William Palmer Harriet Palmer James Palmer John Palmer George Palmer Harry Palmer Beatrice Palmer Charles Palmer Frederick Palmer Amos Palmer		Box 263
15/9/1883	Block B	H. K. Taiaroa	B1: Riria and Potiki B2: Korako Karetai B3: Matiu Te Hu and Koreara B4: Maraea Moimoi B5: Timoti Karetai B6: Irihapeti and Ripeka B7: Te Hope B8: Hinepakia Hope B9: Pirihira and Jane Wetere Te Kahu B10: Pirimona B11: Te Meihana B12: Patoromu Pu B13: Hoani Wetere Korako B14: Nane Weller B15: Tiaki Ropatini B16: H. K. Taiaroa B17: H. K. Taiaroa B18: H. K. Taiaroa	55 acres 35 acres 55 acres 50 acres 50 acres 35 acres 30 acres 20 acres 45 acres 10 acres 10 acres 20 acres 15 acres 40 acres 35 acres 45 acres 25 acres 20 acres	MB1b/229
1/3/1887	B2	Korako Karetai	Haromu Te Au	35 acres	Box 263
2/3/1887	B7	Te Hope	Wi Kerei Tahatahi Makarita Pana		MB5/166-7
2/3/1887	B8		Natanhira Waruwarutu Wi Naihira		MB5/142-44
28/2/1887	B10 10 acres	Teoti Pirimona	Peti Pirimona Heni Pirimona	5 acres 5 acres	MB5/127-8
2/3/1887	Taiari C	Kate Topi	Rewite Te Akau Rora Paina Tom Brown Caroline Howell Bob Brown		MB5/147

			Sarah Brown Elizabeth Pratt		
2/3/1887	Block C	Hoani Korako	Patehepa Kuikui Pere Reita Korako Te Hau Korako Inehounuku Korako Mere Anglem	40 acres 10 acres	MB5/148
2/3/1887	Block C	Subdivision	Robert Brown and Sarah Palmer Jenny Brown Kate Topi Alfred Kihau Rena Kihau Topi Patuki Mary Anglem Hoani Korako Harry West	165 acres 37 acres 57 acres 70 acres 70 acres 56 acres 40 acres 40 acres 30 acres	MB5/148-9
28/2/1887	Block C	Rena Kihau	Anna Marea Kupa		MB5/127
12/4/1887	Block C	Fred Kihau	Teone Kihau Peti Kihau Rena Keiti Kihau		MB6/164
2/3/1887	C1	Partition	C1a: Robert Brown C1b: Sarah Palmer C1c: Jenny Brown C1d: Rewite te Akau Rora Paina Tom Brown Caroline Howell Sarah Brown Elizabeth Pratt Bob Brown	82-02-00 82-02-00 37-00-00 57-00-00	Box 261
2/3/1887	C4	Partition Order	Patehepa Kuikui Pere Reita Korako Te Hau Korako Tutehounuku Korako	40-00-17	Box 256
28/3/1887	C10	Tera Hopa	Hariete Karetai		MB5/229
28/2/1887	Taiari	Koroko Karetai	Hawini Te Ao		MB5/135
28/2/1887	Taiari	Maraea Mohimohi	Te Iwikau Timoti Karetai		MB5/137

APPENDIX TWO

TAIERI NATIVE RESERVE SUCCESSION LIST, 1890-1915

Date	Section	Owner	Successor	Interest	Reference
1/10/1890	Block A	Hariata Karetai	Arihi Karetai Ema Karetai Peti Karetai Oriwia Karetai Ripeka Karetai		MB8/230
20/11/1906	A1	Subdivided	Hall	¼ acre	MB15/8
26/11/1913	A6 7-0-34.7	Ani Wellman	John Wellman William Wellman Charles Wellman George Wellman Elizabeth Wellman	Equal shares	MB18/187
9/6/1899	A9	Exchange of land	John Connor	3-1-38.95	MB10/214
21/6/1899	A11	Robert Brown	Tom Brown Bob Brown Eliza Puck Willie Brown George Brown Elizabeth Garth Mabel Smith	Equal shares	MB10/252-3
19/12/1912	A15	Ani Sherburd	Sarah Robertson		MB17/341
19/12/1912	A15	Robert Sherburd	Sarah Robertson		MB17/341
5/12/1913	A15	Sarah Robertson	Bob Robertson John Roberston Alex Robertson Ernest Robertson Charlotte Robertson Allen Robertson Evan Robertson		MB18/198
19/8/1890	A16	Heni Naihira	Hape Uru Hohepa Teihoka Hineawa Teihoka		MB8/171
5/12/1913	A16	Sale	W. A. Robertson to Richard Crossan	67-3-28.4	MB18/199
2/3/1901	A17	Hopa Ru	Mere Karara Rakiwakana		Box 262
14/9/1905	A19a	Poihipi te Hua	Kuini Wi Rangipupu Katarina Kirini Reini Kirini Rititia Kirini Mere Kirini Man ate Atautu Kiri Retiu Meretini Irikapua Matiria te Hua		Box 262
9/1/1911	A19a	Moretini Irikapua	Haimona Harawira Kereopa Harawira Roka Maka		Box 262

22/2/1898	A20	Reweti Akau	Pene Te Akau Henare Te Akau Hoani Te Akau	Equal shares	MB10/46 Box 257
12/11/1907	A20	Thomas Brown	Hera te Whaiti Charles Brown Daisy Payne		Box 257
24/4/1909	A20	Peti Parata	Teone Parata Hana Parata Henry Parata Tare Parata Hera Parata Erihana Maggie Parata Fanny Parata Peti Parata Ani Parata Tame Parata Wiremu Parata		Box 257
4/7/1912	A20	Henare Parete	Martha Barrett Francis Barrett Louisa Barrett William Barrett Colina Barrett Charles Barrett Matilda Barrett Abraham Barrett		Box 257
20/11/1906	A26	Heni Korako Karetai	Tawhiri Karetai Pere Karetai Mere Karetai		Box 263
16/10/1908	A26	Renata Korako Karetai	Henare Karetai Wiremu Karetai Mere Karetai Mere Fowler		Box 263
18/5/1915	A26	Pere Korako Karetai	Tawhirimatea Karetai Mere Karetai		Box 263
15/8/1893	A27	Tira Te Au	Hoani Hape Te Au Kiwhi Te Au Hamuera Rupene Riria Rupene	1 share 1 share ½ share ½ share	MB8/260-1
6/11/1907	A28 99-2-06.2	Partition	Peter Leitch John Connor	59-02-35.7 (A28a) Residue (A26b)	Box 263
6/11/1907	A28b	Partition	Hoani Hape	39-03-10.5	Box 263
27/11/1912	A29a	Compensation for land taken for scenic purposes	Rimene Tira Te Kiwha Rawinia Rupene Hoani Hape te Ao	19-3-24.1	MB17/289-90
4/12/1912	A29a	Ani Sherburd	Sarah Robertson Ernest Sherburd Annie Horiwia Sherburd John Robert Sherburd	1/3 rd 1/3 rd 1/6 th 1/6 th	MB17/319
23/10/1913	A29a 4-3-36	Rawinia Rupene	Hamuera Rupene Wi Orurea Uru Nuia Orurea Uru	½ ¼ ¼	MB18/63
23/10/1913	A29a	Rimene Tira	As above	As above	MB18/63
27/11/1912	A29b	Compensation for land taken for scenic	Oriwia Paratene John Connor Ani Sherburd	19-3-24.1	MB17/289-90

		purposes			
4/12/1912	A29b	Ani Sherburd	Sarah Robertson Ernest Sherburd Annie Horiwia Sherburd John Robert Sherburd	1/3 rd 1/3 rd 1/6 th 1/6 th	MB17/319
18/12/1915	B3	Matiu Te Hu	Martha Spencer Elizabeth Karetai Rena Te Hu		Box 259
1/3/1890	B5	Timoti Karetai	Areti Karetai Ema Karetai Ripeka Karetai	Equal shares	MB12/19
1/3/1901	B5	Timoti Karetai	Areti Karetai Ema Karetai Ripeka Karetai		Box 259
11/3/1908	B6	Ripeka (Karetai Maaka)	Miria Jones Pipiriki Parata		Box 259
12/2/1898	B7	Tahatahi	Davy Cootes		Box 260
30/10/1899	B11	Te Meihana te Raki	Ropata Hakumanu Rina Paka Riki Hakumanu Teone Hakumanu		Box 258
26/11/1913	B15	Hone Ropatini	Peti Matene Kahuariki Horiwia Erihana	Equal shares	MB18/182
18/2/1898	Block C	Partition	C1a: Sarah Palmer C1b: Robert and Tom Brown C1c: Jenny Brown C1d: Rewite te Akau, Rora Paina, Caroline Howell and Elizabeth Pratt	87-1-36 90-3-21 37-0-16 40-3-11	MB10/16
19/10/1908	Block C	Henry West	Sarah Gilroy Hannah Skerret Charles West William West George West Thomas West Harry West Kate West	Equal shares	MB16/3
31/8/1906	C1a	Removal of restrictions: Sarah Palmer	Left to son Tom Palmer		MB11/211
21/6/1899	C1b	Robert Brown	Tom Brown Bob Brown Eliza Puck Willie Brown George Brown Elizabeth Garth Mabel Smith	Equal shares	MB10/252-3
12/11/1907	C1b	Thomas Brown	Hera te Whaiti Charles Brown Daisy Payne		Box 261
22/2/1898	C1c	Tini Paraone	Tom Brown Eliza Brown George Brown William Brown Robert Brown	Equal shares	MB10/46

			Lizzie Brown Mabel Brown		
22/2/1898	C1d	Reweti Akau	Pene Te Akau Henare Te Akau Hoani Te Akau	Equal shares	MB10/46-7 Box 256
21/6/1899	C1d	Robert Brown	Tom Brown Bob Brown Eliza Puck Willie Brown George Brown Elizabeth Garth Mabel Smith	Equal shares	MB10/252-3
24/4/1909	C1d	Peti Parata	Teone Parata Hana Parata Henry Parata Tare Parata Hera Parata Erihana Maggie Parata Fanny Parata Peti Parata Ani Parata Tame Parata Wiremu Parata		Box 256
28/9/1890	C2	Rena Kihau	Teone Kihau Peti Kihau Kati Kihau		MB8/214-15 Box 256
24/10/1913	C2	Bessie Kihau	Nina Kihau		MB18/75
10/12/1910	C3	Mary Anglem	Nancy Coupar Ellen Cook Walter Anglem Patrick Anglem		Box 256

APPENDIX THREE

TAIERI NATIVE RESERVE SUCCESSION LIST, 1916-1926

Date	Section	Owner	Successor	Interest	Reference
27/6/1922	A1	Ani Sherburd	Ernest H. C. Sherburd		MB22/214
28/9/1921	A1a	John Connor	Teone Wiwi Paraone		MB22/97-8
27/6/1923	A1a	John Connor	Ernest H. C. Sherburd		MB22/360-1
28/9/1921	A1b	John Connor	Teone Wiwi Paraone		MB22/97-8
27/6/1923	A1b	John Connor	Ernest H. C. Sherburd		MB22/360-1
28/9/1921	A2	John Connor	Teone Wiwi Paraone		MB22/97-8
27/6/1922	A2	Ani Sherburd	Ernest H. C. Sherburd		MB22/214
27/6/1923	A2	John Connor	Ernest H. C. Sherburd		MB22/360-1
2/12/1924	A5	Mary Bryant	Mary Kui James Kui William Kui Jane Kui Caroline Kui Thomas Kui Robert Kui Jessie Kui Elizabeth Kui Alex Kui		Box 262
30/9/1921	A7	Robert Brown	Thomas Brown Eliza Puck William Brown Thelma Smith Alex Smith Elizabeth Garth Mabel Smith	1/6 th 1/6 th 1/6 th 1/6 th 1/6 th 1/6 th 1/6 th	MB22/113
28/9/1921	A9	John Connor	Teone Wiwi Paraone		MB22/97-8
30/9/1921	A11	George Brown	Emma Brown Jane Brown Eliza Brown Henry Brown Travis Brown Walter Brown		MB22/114
28/9/1921	A14	John Connor	Teone Wiwi Paraone		MB22/97-8
27/6/1923	A14	John Connor	Ernest H. C. Sherburd		MB22/360-1
28/9/1921	A16	John Connor	Teone Wiwi Paraone		MB22/97-8
27/6/1923	A16	John Connor	Ernest H. C. Sherburd		MB22/360-1
23/11/1917	A19b	Takowhare Rangiora	Hutika Huria Tini Huria		Box 262
7/6/1921	A19b	Tini Huria	Erina Momo Horopapera Momo Katerina Momo Riria Momo		Box 262
20/11/1926	A19b	Rakinui Momo	Erina Momo Horopapera Momo Katerina Momo Riria Momo		Box 262
28/9/1921	A20	John Connor	Teone Wiwi Paraone		MB22/97-8

28/9/1921	A20	John Connor	Teone Wiwi Paraone (annulled on appeal at Wellington 16/8/1928)		Box 257
30/9/1921	A20	Robert Brown	Thomas Brown Eliza Puck William Brown Thelma Smith Alex Smith Elizabeth Garth Mabel Smith	1/6 th 1/6 th 1/6 th 1/6 th 1/6 th 1/6 th 1/6 th	MB22/113
27/6/1923	A20	John Connor	Ernest H. C. Sherburd		MB22/360-1 Box 257
2/12/1924	A20	Elizabeth Garth	David Connell Thomas Brown		Box 257
2/12/1924	A21	Mary Bryant	Mary Kui James Kui William Kui Jane Kui Caroline Kui Thomas Kui Robert Kui Jessie Kui Elizabeth Kui Alex Kui		Box 263
27/6/1918	A25	Taare Parata	Kahureremoa Parata Charles Parata David Parata		Box 263
28/9/1921	A26	John Connor	Teone Wiwi Paraone		MB22/97-8
27/6/1923	A26	John Connor	Ernest H. C. Sherburd		MB22/360-1 Box 263
11/12/1924	B1	Potiki	Ihaia Potiki William Potiki Jacob Potiki Hilda Anglem Robert Potiki Tamairaki Potiki Paka Newton		Box 263
10/6/1926	B5	Ripeka Karetai	Olive Te Pura Piper		Box 259
30/9/1921	B6	Irihapeti Karetai	Te Wairaki Ranginui Mutu Fowler Frank Fowler Riria Fowler Mohi Fowler Ngaiwi Fowler Horace Maloney Wahine Maloney Bridget Maloney		Box 259
24/6/1925	B10	Peti Hipi	Tiemi Hipi Tame Hipi Mere Karetai Rihipeti Whaitri		Box 260
26/5/1926	B12	Patoromu Pu	Arapata Himona Whana Himona (annulled at Wellington 16/8/1927)		Box 258
24/6/1924	C1a	Tera Teone Parata	Hoani Parata Ropata Parata Merehana Harper		Box 261

			Te Maire Parata		
30/9/1921	C1c	Robert Brown	Thomas Brown Eliza Puck William Brown Thelma Smith Alex Smith Elizabeth Garth Mabel Smith	1/6 th 1/6 th 1/6 th 1/6 th 1/6 th 1/6 th 1/6 th	MB22/113
2/12/1924	C1c	Elizabeth Garth	David Connell Thomas Brown		Box 261

APPENDIX FOUR

TAIERI NATIVE RESERVE SUCCESSION LIST, 1927-1940

Date	Section	Owner	Successors	Interest	Reference
22/5/1936	A6	John Wellman	Dorothy Wilson Donald Wellman James Wellman Margaret Garner		MB28/114
9/6/1931	A7	Thomas Brown	Moana Teihoka Mabel Brown William Brown John Stevens Thomas Garth James Brown Gordon Brown Travis Brown Eliza Brown Walter Brown Emma Hart	1/5 th 1/5 th 1/5 th 1/10 th 1/10 th 1/30 th 1/30 th 1/30 th 1/30 th 1/30 th 1/30 th	MB26/194
13/8/1937	A7	Eliza Puck	Moana Teihoka		MB28/218
10/2/1937	A8	Wi Naihira	Hariata Alice Uru		MB28/206
12/2/1937	A8	Purchase	Walter and Bessie Dawson		MB28/217
21/2/1936	A10	Appointment of Trustees	William Brown Ben Overton Douglas Dawson		MB28/92
9/6/1931	A11	Thomas Brown	Moana Teihoka Mabel Brown William Brown John Stevens Thomas Garth James Brown Gordon Brown Travis Brown Eliza Brown Walter Brown Emma Hart	1/5 th 1/5 th 1/5 th 1/10 th 1/10 th 1/30 th 1/30 th 1/30 th 1/30 th 1/30 th 1/30 th	MB26/194
9/6/1931	A11	Robert Brown	Moana Teihoka Mabel Brown William Brown John Stevens Thomas Garth James Brown Gordon Brown Travis Brown Eliza Brown Walter Brown Emma Hart	1/5 th 1/5 th 1/5 th 1/10 th 1/10 th 1/30 th 1/30 th 1/30 th 1/30 th 1/30 th 1/30 th	MB26/194
13/8/1937	A11	Eliza Puck	Moana Teihoka		MB28/218
26/5/1927	A12	Eliza Brown	Moana Teihoka	29-0-18.6	MB24/163
9/6/1931	A13	Martha Dickson	James Dickson Martha Dickson	1/7 th 1/7 th	MB26/194-5

			Arthur Dickson Alexander Dickson William Dickson Helen McLeod Martha Lavell Ivy Walker May Campbell Eileen Campbell Ben Overton	1/7 th 1/7 th 1/7 th 1/7 th 1/35 th 1/35 th 1/35 th 1/35 th 1/35 th	
16/11/1931	A19	Hape Uru	Alice Hariata Uru		Box 257
23/5/1932	A19b	Waruwarutu	Hutika Huria Erina Momo Horopapera Momo Katerina Momo Riria Momo		Box 262
16/11/1931	A20	Hape Uru	Alice Hariata Uru		Box 257
27/5/1937	A20	Hera te Whaiti	Joe te Whaiti		Box 257
23/7/1938	A25	Hera Erihana	Huriwhenua Ellison		Box 263
15/12/1938	A25	Charles Parata	David Parata Peti Olsen		Box 263
13/6/1930	A30	Tiaki Kona	Annie Oriwia Sherburd John Robert Sherburd		MB26/59
19/11/1931	B4	William Joseph Karetai	Josephine Karetai Rangi Karetai William J. Karetai		Box 259
29/11/1927	B9	Tare Wetere Te Kahu	Rawinia Reihana Hohepa Wetere Harold Wetere Frances Wetere Thomas Wetere Henare Apes		Box 260
22/2/1927	B10	Heni Pirimona	Miriona Mutu Mira Henare Mutu Mira Robert Morgan Sarah Morgan		Box 260
27/7/1938	B10	Tiemi Hipi	Rhipeti Whitiri Tame Hipi	½ ½	MB29/21 Box 260
22/5/1928	B12	Peti Patoromu	Riki Te Mairaki Taiaaroa	20 acres	MB25/48
24/11/1933	B15	Peti Matene	David Martin George Martin Jane Martin Henry Martin Frederick Wallscott		Box 258
28/4/1930	C1a	Alienation	Emma Adam Daisy Gibb Ben Overton	87-01-36.6	Box 261
9/6/1931	C1a	Martha Dickson	James Dickson Martha Dickson Arthur Dickson Alexander Dickson William Dickson Helen McLeod Martha Lavell Ivy Walker May Campbell Eileen Campbell Ben Overton	1/7 th 1/7 th 1/7 th 1/7 th 1/7 th 1/7 th 1/35 th 1/35 th 1/35 th 1/35 th 1/35 th	MB26/195
9/6/1931	C1a	Harriet	Ben Overton		MB24/211

[illegible]

APPENDIX FIVE

SILNA GRANTEES: TAIERI

Name	SILNA Block
Elizabeth Crane	Section 1, Block XIV, Rowallan
James Charles Crane	Section 1, Block XIV, Rowallan
Johnny Mokomoko	Section 6, Block VII, Rowallan
Roka Mokomoko	Section 6, Block VII, Rowallan
Nopera Mokomoko	Section 6, Block VII, Rowallan
Hannah Riki Mokomoko	Section 6, Block VII, Rowallan
Charlotte Annie Mokomoko	Section 6, Block VII, Rowallan
Maraea Mokomoko	Section 6, Block VII, Rowallan
Violet Louisa Barrett	Section 1, Block V, Alton
John Chapalier	Section 3, Block IX, Alton
Caroline Kui	Section 1, Block XII, Rowallan
Tommy Kui	Section 1, Block XII, Rowallan
Bobby Kui	Section 1, Block XII, Rowallan
Jessie Kui	Section 1, Block XII, Rowallan
Elizabeth Ann Kui	Section 1, Block XII, Rowallan
Hugh Alexander Kui	Section 1, Block XII, Rowallan
William Palmer	Section 7/8, Block XII, Rowallan
Fred Palmer	Section 7/8, Block XII, Rowallan
Harry Palmer	Section 7/8, Block XII, Rowallan
Johnnie Palmer	Section 7/8, Block XII, Rowallan
Harriet Palmer (Mrs. Bishop)	Section 7/8, Block XII, Rowallan
George Palmer	Section 7/8, Block XII, Rowallan
Charlie Palmer	Section 7/8, Block XII, Rowallan
James Palmer	Section 7/8, Block XII, Rowallan
Beatie Palmer	Section 7/8, Block XII, Rowallan
Elizabeth Mary Palmer	Section 7/8, Block XII, Rowallan
Joseph Palmer	Section 7/8, Block XII, Rowallan
Thomas John Palmer	Section 7/8, Block XII, Rowallan
Sarah Palmer	Section 7/8, Block XII, Rowallan
Johnnie Wellman	Section 6, Block XIV, Waitutu
William Wellman	Section 6, Block XIV, Waitutu
Elizabeth Wellman	Section 6, Block XIV, Waitutu
Charlie Wellman	Section 6, Block XIV, Waitutu
George Wellman	Section 6, Block XIV, Waitutu
Annie Williams	Section 6, Block XIV, Waitutu
James Williams	Section 6, Block XIV, Waitutu
James Connor	Section 9, Block XVI, Waikawa
Jack (Tiaki Kona) Connor	Section 9, Block XVI, Waikawa
Annie Foster (Sherburd)	Section 9, Block XVI, Waikawa
Henry Koroko	Section 9, Block XVI, Waikawa
Walter Koroko	Section 9, Block XVI, Waikawa
George Koroko	Section 9, Block XVI, Waikawa
Martin Koroko	Section 9, Block XVI, Waikawa
Robert Sherburd	Section 9, Block XVI, Waikawa
Sarah Sherburd	Section 9, Block XVI, Waikawa
Willie Sherburd	Section 9, Block XVI, Waikawa
Henry Sherburd	Section 9, Block XVI, Waikawa

Wereta Tuarea	Section 9, Block XVI, Waikawa
Hannah (Mrs. Campbell) Aukawe	Part 3, Block X, Tautuku
Jane Brown	Part 3, Block X, Tautuku
Bobby Brown	Part 3, Block X, Tautuku
Lizzie Brown	Part 3, Block X, Tautuku
Mabel Brown	Part 3, Block X, Tautuku
George Edwin Brown	Part 3, Block X, Tautuku
Eliza Brown (Parker)	Part 3, Block X, Tautuku
Tom Brown	Part 3, Block X, Tautuku
Maggie Brown	Part 3, Block X, Tautuku
William Brown	Part 3, Block X, Tautuku
Mary Brown	Part 3, Block X, Tautuku
Tom Brown	Part 3, Block X, Tautuku
Elizabeth Brown	Part 3, Block X, Tautuku
George Brown	Part 3, Block X, Tautuku
John Wiwi Brown	Part 3, Block X, Tautuku
Ria Brown	Part 3, Block X, Tautuku
Robert Brown	Part 3, Block X, Tautuku
Sarah Palmer (nee Brown)	Part 3, Block X, Tautuku
Tom Palmer	Part 3, Block X, Tautuku
Alma Palmer	Part 3, Block X, Tautuku
Eliza Palmer (Gibbs)	Part 3, Block X, Tautuku
Willie Palmer	Part 3, Block X, Tautuku
George Palmer	Part 3, Block X, Tautuku
Martha Palmer (Dickson)	Part 3, Block X, Tautuku
Emma Jane Palmer	Part 3, Block X, Tautuku
Selina Palmer	Part 3, Block X, Tautuku
Robert Palmer	Part 3, Block X, Tautuku
John Amos Palmer	Part 3, Block X, Tautuku
Jenny Palmer	Part 3, Block X, Tautuku
Agnes Campbell	Section 3, Block X and XIV, Tautuku
Willie Campbell	Section 3, Block X and XIV, Tautuku
Joe Campbell	Section 3, Block X and XIV, Tautuku
Agnes Campbell	Section 3, Block X and XIV, Tautuku
Jane Campbell	Section 3, Block X and XIV, Tautuku
Mary Campbell	Section 3, Block X and XIV, Tautuku
James Campbell	Section 3, Block X and XIV, Tautuku
Selina Campbell	Section 3, Block X and XIV, Tautuku
John Brown	Section 3, Block XIV, Tautuku
Jane Brown	Section 3, Block XIV, Tautuku
Ema te Maka Brown	Section 3, Block XIV, Tautuku
Elizabeth Neil	Section 3, Block XIV, Tautuku
Rina Neil	Section 3, Block XIV, Tautuku
Harriet Overton	Section 3, Block XIV, Tautuku
Jane Parker	Section 3, Block XIV, Tautuku

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DAAC/D239/642 685/79	Mabel Palmer, 1979
DAFG/9069/283 412/82	Dora Constance Lopdell, 1982
DAAC/D239/668 0842/82	Mary Jane Walker, 1982
DAAC/D239/676 0814/83	Fanny Beulah Bryant, 1983
DAAC/D239/673 0424/83	Stanley Robert Smith, 1983
DAAC/D349/48 590/89	Alexander I. W. Bryant, 1989
AG220/26/1	Native Grants 1868-1877
DAAK/D124/1	Commissioner of Crown Lands Outwards Letterbook, 1877-1881
DABB/D53/1	New Zealand Railways Staff Register 1910-1928
DABB/D53/3	New Zealand Railways Register of Casual Workmen, 1920-1943
DABB/D70/1 17/33/1	Taieri River Investigation, 1917-64
DABB/D70/58 611	Taieri Drainage Board 1928-1974
DABB/D70/13 49/8	Henley – Waterservice 1897-1919
DABB/D70/13 49/1	Henley – Stationbuilding 1922-69
DAFG/D224/1	New Zealand Railways Staff Register No. 1, 1872-1926
DAFG/D224/2	New Zealand Railways Staff Register No. 3, 1903-1928

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132	Railways Department Superannuation Register No. 4, 1921-25.
133	Railways Department Superannuation Register No. 5, 1925-36.

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45888	Probate of James Smith, 1930
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1882/109 Box 195	Crown Grants issued to South Island Half-Castes.
1893/153 Box 325	Natives and half-castes in the South Island – correspondence regarding land grants.

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- 13/3 Index of Native Land Surveys, 1912-13
- 70/15 Reserves made under the Scenery Preservation Act 1903, 1904-06
- 70/16 Reserves made under the Scenery Preservation Act, 1907-15
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- 1301 39876 Landless Natives, South Island
- 1301 39882 South Island Landless Natives
- 1308 135 part 1 Taieri Mouth Scenic Reserve 1905-34
- 41749 (Box 398) Tatawai Fishing Reserve
- MA 1*
- 78 5/5/89 Clarendon Block 11, Sections 26-37: Crown Acquisition as a Scenic Reserve
- 168 [6/0/16] Native Reserves, Petitions, 1884-1895
- 187 6/79 part 6 South Island Tenths, Native Reserves, 1887-1917
- 435 21/3/42 Taieri A, Subdivision 10
- 604 30/3/9 Tuahiwi Housing Survey, 1937-55
- 605 30/3/11 Taumutu Housing Survey, 1937-1938
- 605 30/3/12 Little River Housing Survey, 1937
- 610 30/3/129 Dunedin Housing Survey, 1949-50
- 1892/2201 Kaika Cemetery
- 1892/2250 Letters, Robert Brown to Native Minister
- 1892/2275 Letter, John Connor to Native Minister
- 1908/564 Taieri A, Consent to Mortgage
- MA 3*
- 16 Inwards Letter Register, 1884-1885
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- MA 13*
- Box 19 12[a] Part 1 Land Claims of South Island Half-Castes (1875-1887)
- Box 19 12[b] Part 2 Land Claims of South Island Half-Castes (1848-1880)
- Box 20 12[c] Part 3 Land Claims of South Island Half-Castes
- Box 20 12[d] Part 4 Land Claims of South Island Half-Castes (1848-1877)
- Box 20 12[e] Part 5 Land Claims of South Island Half-Castes (1851-1874)
- Box 20 13[a] Land Claims of South Island Half-Castes
- Box 21 13[c] Land Claims of South Island Half-Castes (1882-1886)
- Box 21 13[d] Land Claims of South Island Half-Castes (1882-1888)

- MA 18*
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- MA 23*
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25 Register of Chiefs
27 Maori Genealogies, South Island
- MA 24*
7 Petitions
15 Volume of Printed Papers
- MA 52/10h* Nominal Roll of Maori Contingent and Reinforcements, 1914-18.
- MA 67* Minutes of Evidence, Smith-Nairn Commission, 1880
- MA 72* Minutes of Evidence, Royal Commission, Middle Island Land Claims, 1891
5 Return of Natives and Half-Castes in the South Island
6 Return of Names, 1891
11 Native Office Registered Files
- MA-MT 1*
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1A 96 Newton-Hall to Heaphy, 12 July 1870
1A 97 Baker to Heaphy, 30 August 1870
1A 101 Mackay to Heaphy, 1 May 1870
1A 137 Newton-Hall to Heaphy, 4 October 1870
- MA-MT 6*
15 Volume of Papers relating to Native Reserves
19 Schedule of Native Reserves in the South Island
- MLC 8*
1 Judge Mackay, Inwards Letters, 1885-1901
2 Bundle of Notes, Native Land Court, 1879-1895
10 Index of owners of Native Reserves, South Island
12 File of Papers, Chief Judge Native Land Court, 1874-1902
13 Letters and Miscellaneous Notes
- MA AccW1369 O-i-C* Partition Registers: Wellington, Wairarapa, Otaki, South Island, 1870-1886.
- MLC AccW2218*

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21	Service Schedule of Travis Dalziel Brown
64	Service Schedule of Thomas Garth

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Wellington**

General Register

Birth Certificates:

1862/565	Louise Matilde Ballantyne	1862
1863/170/625	Thomas John Crane	1863
1865/410/764	Sarah Crane	1865
1865/467	Charlotte Annie Sherburd	1865
1867/414/1129	Robert William Sherburd	1867
1867/430/1131	Benjamin Edwin Overton	1867
1867/1131	William Richard Palmer	1867
1867/1207	William Edwin Crane	1867
1871/73/1625	William George Sherburd	1871
1872/1328/1468	Albert George Crane	1872
1873/196/369	Caroline Susan Bryant	1873
1875/1545	Harriet Jane Overton	1875
1875/3085	Thomas Bryant	1875
1875/7386	Harriet Jane Crane	1875
1876/862	John Wellman	1876
1877/9244	Sarah Palmer Gibb	1877
1946/1904	Ann Jane Bishop	1878
1878/1871	William Richard Wellman	1878
1878/3243	Eliza Crane	1877
1878/6086	Walter Henry Overton	1878
1880/2025	Charles Hezekiah Overton	1880
1880/2053	Elizabeth Mary Wellman	1880
1880/12202	Walter Edwin Gibb	1880
1881/5539	Mary Jane Brown	1881
1883/3148	William Brandon Overton	1883
1883/4888	Caroline Victoria Crane	1882
1883/13148	Thomas Gibb	1883
1884/2105	Ernest Henry Connor Sherburd	1884
1884/3283	Arthur James Reid Palmer	1884
1885/950	Charles Martin Wellman	1885

1885/4172	Frederick George Cook	1885
1885/13288	Hannah Palmer	1885
1886/3214	Thomas Richard Overton	1886
1886/4204	Hugh Alexander Patterson Tanner	1886
1887/3226	George Christie Wellman	1887
1887/3228	Betsy Brown	1887
1887/4373	Alexander Bishop	1887
1887/12583	Benjamin Palmer	1887
1888/3162	George Ernest Overton	1888
1889/2018	Helen Laura Brown	1889
1889/2029	Alice Bishop	1889
1889/4391	Jane McKenzie Brown	1889
1890/16326	Mary Liddell	1890
1890/17040	Annie Helen Gibb	1890
1891/3087	Harriet Emma Bishop	1891
1891/16138	Edwin George Palmer	1891
1891/17706	Eliza Amelia Flutey	1891
1892/4932	Henry Edward Palmer	1892
1892/13400	Charles Joseph Flutey	1892
1892/15838	Agnes Liddell	1892
1893/2951	Mabel Ann Johnson	1893
1893/4329	Jessie Grace Bishop	1893
1893/12908	Ngahui Brown	1893
1894/1097	Fanny Beulah Bryant	1894
1894/15210	Dora Constance Stevenson	1894
1894/15310	Oliver Leon Palmer	1894
1895/2236	Lina Liddell	1895
1896/1015	Sydney Arthur Bishop	1896
1896/3221	James Edwin Brown	1896
1896/3365	William Bryant Crane	1896
1896/12382	Ida Mary Bryant	1896
1896/13913	Gertrude Mary Stevenson	1896
1897/4388	Bob Sherburd Robertson	1897
1897/10950	Robert William Robinson	1897
1898/4547	Una Coralie Palmer	1898
1898/13055	Lawrence Liddell	1898
1899/1142	Joseph Arthur Crane	1898
1899/1144	James Henry Smith	1899
1899/2125	George Rewi Koruarua Brown	1899
1899/2257	William Joseph Bryant	1899
1899/4245	Henry Leonard Palmer	1899
1900/1149	James George Crane	1899
1900/2189	Florence Harriet Stevenson	1900
1900/2023	Margaret Mona Sermas	1900
1900/4737	Caroline Vera Crane	1900
1901/1007	Annie Oriwia Sherburd	1901
1901/2253	Dorothy Curtis Wellman	1901
1901/2387	John Connor Robertson	1901
1901/3680	Mary Enid Smith	1901
1901/10407	Caroline Robinson	1901

1901/12608	Eliza Scally Brown	1901
1901/16054	Jane Brown	1901
1961/83592	Thomas David Lauder Garth	1901
1902/1073	John Robert Sherburd	1901
1902/3360	Eliza Eileen Mona Crane	1902
1902/3675	Hazel Mary Crane	1902
1902/3676	Alexander William Robertson	1902
1902/4838	Martha Marion Dickson	1902
1902/5271	Henry Thomas Bryant	1902
1902/11765	Colin Campbell Liddell	1902
1902/20261	George William Bryant	1902
1903/14154	Henry Gordon Brown	1903
1904/1181	Donald Henry Wellman	1904
1904/1181	John Alexander Drummond	1904
1904/2667	Frederick James Crane	1904
1904/11611	Leslie Heaton Brown	1904
1904/23091	May Isabella Overton Crossan	1904
1905/2584	Ernest James Robertson	1905
1905/3915	Winifred Estella Smith	1905
1905/4020	James Lemon Lander Wellman	1905
1905/4022	William Charles Wellman	1905
1905/5482	Annie Elizabeth Wellman Drummond	1905
1905/6471	Ida Kui Milward	1905
1905/9118	Edward Arthur Bryant	1905
1906/1436	Sarah Ruahine Bryant	1906
1906/2548	Mary Ann Bryant	1906
1906/2833	George Robert Stanley Crane	1906
1906/4227	Margaret Campbell Wellman	1906
1906/5572	Travis Dalziel Pahikora Brown	1906
1906/5726	Emmeline Enid Diana Palmer	1906
1906/21546	Arnold Henley Rewi Brown	1906
1907/1436	Sarah Ruahine Bryant	1907
1907/1576	Herbert Murray Crane	1907
1907/2632	Sidney Alexander Smith	1907
1907/2907	Charlotte Jeannie May Robertson	1907
1907/5759	Winifred Mere Hanna	1907
1908/1409	George Christie Wellman Drummond	1908
1909/6213	Alan Charles Tuarea Robertson	1909
1909/6484	Ian Brandon Stevenson	1909
1910/2839	Doreen Elaine Koe Crane	1910
1910/2884	Agnes Kemp Drummond	1910
1910/3045	Charles Richard Palmer Bryant	1910
1910/4416	Harold Thomas Hanna	1910
1910/4613	Alexander Charles Cushnie	1910
1910/5949	Leslie William Crossan	1910
1910/15315	Terahui Harriet Matekino Flutey	1910
1910/23881	Olive Iris Lena May Siermus Brown	1910
1912/1222	Evan Bertram Te Makahi Robertson	1912
1912/2937	Charles Robert Drummond	1912
1912/3079	Elizabeth Norma Crane	1912

1912/4563	Thelma Margaret Smith	1912
1912/10439	Bernard Brown	1912
1912/10440	Norman Brown	1912
1913/6565	William Richard Drummond	1913
1913/23728	Alma Irene Brown	1913
1914/1459	Jessie Adeline Hanna	1914
1914/3314	George Milward Crane	1914
1914/4867	Stanley Robert Smith	1914
1914/4973	Emma Potiki Bryant	1914
1914/6724	Alexander Henry Thomson Smith	1914
1915/4900	James Cleland Robert Hanna	1915
1917/1772	Ernest Foster Sherburd	1917
1917/5353	Wiwi Martin Tekahuariki Brown	1917
1918/1518	Iris Vona Crane	1918
1918/4782	Caroline Elizabeth Hanna	1918
1920/1369	Lorna Waitai Brown	1920
1920/5629	Kenneth Sherburd	1920
1922/7100	Horace James Bryant	1922
1923/27596	Martin Joseph Crane	1923
1924/5236	Ngaire Isabel Sherburd	1924
1925/29913	William Gilbert Crane	1925
1926/3566	Margaret Muriwai Sherburd	1926
1932/3093	James Eric Sherburd	1932
1932/4673	Marna Kathleen Gutsell	1932
1942/1908	Ian Robert Sherburd	1942
1944/1941	Graeme Campbell Sherburd	1944

Death Certificates:

1872/167/403	Robert Sherburd	1872
1876/1101	William Bryant	1876
1878/123	Jane Sherburd	1877
1885/466	Charlotte Emma Brown	1885
1885/466	John Charles Brown	1885
1885/5516	Alexander Edwin Dickson	1885
1886/479	Edwin Palmer	1886
1886/1503	Ann Palmer	1886
1886/1503	Beatrice Jane Smith	1886
1886/1503	William James Smith	1886
1887/1793	William Sherburd	1887
1888/1737	Caroline Victoria Crane	1888
1888/3528	Charlotte Anie Crane	1888
1889/1468	Hannah Sophia Tanner	1889
1890/565	Frederick Neil	1890
1890/4357	William Overton	1890
1892/3002	Edward George Palmer	1892
1893/6184	Robert Sherburd	1893
1894/2241	Jane Brown	1894
1895/1685	John Robert Brown	1895
1895/2269	Henry Palmer	1895
1895/2275	Jane McKenzie Brown	1895

1895/6487	Amos Palmer	1985
1896/508	John Wellman	1896
1896/1107	Victoria Mary Puna Flutey	1896
1896/5816	Sarah Given	1896
1897/5215	Arthur George Crane	1897
1898/549	Robert Brown	1898
1898/4133	Eliza Amelia Flutey	1898
1900/1706	Eliza Emily Palmer	1900
1900/1761	Annie Starkey	1900
1900/6812	Eliza Crane	1900
1901/1554	Waimea Sarah Sherburd	1901
1901/2239	Stephen Alexander Bishop	1901
1901/2593	George Rewi Koruarua Brown	1901
1901/6422	Robert Brown	1901
1902/8185	Martha Dickson	1902
1903/235	James Henry Palmer	1903
1903/609	William George Sherburd	1903
1903/625	James Cleland Tanner	1903
1903/4392	William McLeur Palmer	1903
1904/2411	John Amos Palmer	1904
1908/8525	Edwin Palmer	1908
1910/546	Harriet Crane	1910
1910/2370	James Crane	1910
1911/5351	Isaac Marwick Yorston	1911
1912/636	Edward Arthur Bryant	1912
1913/2311	Sarah Jane Robertson	1913
1913/2364	Harriet Overton	1913
1913/2416	Annie Wellman	1913
1914/1494	Thomas Garth	1914
1914/3212	Emma Smith	1914
1914/10982	Alexander Henry Thomson Smith	1914
1916/803	Lena Joss	1916
1916/1315	Sarah Mary Wellman	1916
1916/2420	William Brandon Overton	1916
1917/6345	William Richard Palmer	1917
1918/2493	Teone Paka Koruarua	1918
1920/719	Elsie Myrtle Smith	1920
1920/2831	John Connor	1920
1920/2854	Mary Kui Tanner	1920
1921/1755	Sarah Palmer	1921
1923/765	Henry Thomas Bryant	1923
1923/3777	Winifred Estella Smith	1923
1923/9324	Alma Irene Brown	1923
1924/712	Ripeka Martin	1924
1924/3706	Maretta Bryant	1924
1924/3767	Elizabeth Crane	1924
1927/2076	Reita Paka Koruarua	1927
1927/5082	James Liddell	1927
1929/3995	James Smith	1929
1929/8739	George Palmer	1929

1930/4012	Robert Edward Palmer	1930
1930/10781	Ann Elizabeth Wellman	1930
1931/4840	Thomas Brown	1931
1932/2727	Joseph Campbell	1932
1932/12552	Amelia Ann Flutey	1932
1933/2478	Emma Jane Adam	1933
1933/2478	James Charles Crane	1933
1933/3918	John Dickson	1933
1934/1772	Beatrice Jane Johnson	1934
1934/2679	Jessie Grace Horn	1934
1934/2915	Mabel Brown	1934
1934/4555	William Palmer	1934
1934/1850	John Edwin Palmer	1935
1935/3813	John Wellman	1935
1935/17779	Agnes Liddell	1935
1936/3093	Benjamin Edwin Overton	1936
1936/4313	Frederick Henry Crane	1936
1937/871	Joseph Crane	1937
1937/1310	Eliza Gibb	1937
1937/4297	Hannah Palmer	1937
1938/897	John Walker	1938
1938/2193	Thomas John Crane	1938
1939/2067	Barbara Sherburd	1939
1939/2103	William Henry Brown	1939
1939/16371	Charles Martin Wellman	1939
1940/4628	Hannah Campbell	1940
1941/3411	Harriet Jane Crossan	1941
1941/27551	Harriet Bishop	1941
1941/28681	William Edwin Crane	1941
1942/270	Stephen Bishop	1942
1942/2318	Evan Bertram Te Makahi Robertson	1942
1942/19462	Jane Crane	1942
1944/2099	Fanny Bryant	1944
1944/7294	Alan Charles Tuarea Robertson	1944
1945/30053	Ivy Campbell	1945
1946/1004	Thomas Palmer	1946
1946/1085	Elizabeth Ann Cushnie	1946
1946/1677	Mary Ann Flutey	1946
1947/3592	Thelma Margaret Smith	1947
1947/3602	May Isabella Overton Crossan	1947
1947/4936	James William Palmer Crane	1947
1947/17946	William Alexander Robertson	1947
1947/18699	Fanny Jane Bryant	1947
1947/19487	James Owen Edgar Palmer	1947
1948/2477	Eileen Mary Reid	1948
1949/2245	Richard James Crossan	1949
1949/23819	Ernest Henry Connor Sherburd	1949
1950/3671	Thomas Bryant	1950
1950/5009	Sarah McRae	1950
1951/3042	William Bryant	1951

1951/19293	George Walter Joss Brown	1951
1951/28914	Ian Brandon Stevenson	1951
1951/29244	Mary Elizabeth Stevenson	1951
1952/1005	Robert Bryant	1952
1952/19801	Travis Dalziel Pahikora Brown	1952
1953/1035	Selina Palmer	1953
1954/1040	Isabella Sherburd	1954
1954/3986	Alexander Edward Dickson	1954
1954/30144	George Joseph Milward	1954
1955/1621	Eliza Gibb	1955
1955/2422	William Richard Dickson	1955
1955/5570	Robert Edwin Stevenson	1955
1955/26062	James Stuart Dickson	1962
1956/5235	Walter Edwin Gibb	1956
1956/25233	Jane Ann Yorston	1956
1958/258	Alfred Holmes Palmer	1958
1958/1734	James Liddell	1958
1958/34601	Arthur Philip Dickson	1958
1959/1742	Walter Douglas Dawson	1959
1959/3042	William Bryant Crane	1959
1959/36172	William Charles Wellman	1959
1960/1920	George Henry Palmer	1960
1960/33804	Hannah Crane	1960
1961/15	William Richard Drummond	1960
1961/2233	Emma Temara Maria Harte	1961
1962/5396	James Edwin Brown	1962
1963/1376	Mavis Dorothy Brown	1963
1963/2209	Caroline Victoria Archbold	1963
1963/25789	Benjamin Palmer	1963
1963/44757	Ellen Crane	1963
1964/34344	Caroline Susan Milward	1964
1965/209	Mary Enid Cunningham	1965
1965/3677	Martha Marion Dickson	1965
1965/29797	Henry Edward Palmer	1965
1966/4319	George Ernest Overton	1966
1967/3745	Betsy Dawson	1967
1967/3757	Charles Hezekiah Overton	1967
1967/44198	Joseph Alexander Bryant	1967
1969/32671	Ida Kui Sparnon	1969
1970/34684	Joseph Arthur Crane	1970
1971/1447	Nancy Jean Gutsell	1971
1972/1097	Martin Joseph Crane	1972
1972/16176	Winifred Mere Dickson	1972
1973/36852	Frank Restall Moses	1973
1973/42811	Oliver Leon Palmer	1973
1973/43968	John Connor Robertson	1973
1973/47272	Moana Margaret Strez	1973
1974/9033	Thomas Brown	1974
1974/14954	Margaret Acheson Overton	1974
1975/7957	Herbert Murray Crane	1975

1976/5644	Donald Henry Wellman	1976
1977/2159	John Robert Sherburd	1977
1977/8320	George Christie Wellman	1977
1977/8397	Mary Ann Mackay	1977
1977/43763	Robert William Robertson	1977
1978/25966	Annie Oriwia Garth	1978
1979/34379	Thomas David Lauder Garth	1979
1979/40793	Mabel Palmer	1979
1980/2783	Elizabeth Scally Brown	1980
1981/2078	Charles Richard Palmer Bryant	1981
1981/8320	Alexander Charles Cushnie	1981
1982/9023	James George Crane	1982
1982/20327	Mary Jane Walker	1982
1982/42149	Dora Constance Lopdell	1982
1983/7212	Stanley Robert Smith	1983
1983/35390	Walter Maxwell Brown	1983
1987/14474	George William Bryant	1987
1989/36012	Alexander Ian Waitutu Bryant	1989

Marriage Certificates:

1853/20385	William Palmer to Ann Holmes	1853
1865/1699	William Overton to Harriet Palmer	1865
1866/1881	Peter Campbell to Hannah Palmer	1866
1868/2120	William Bryant to Mary Smith	1868
1869/1438	William Sherburd to Jane Foster	1869
1875/1382	John Wellman to Annie Williams	1875
1875/2111	Stephen Bishop to Harriett Palmer	1875
1876/3122	Walter Gibb to Eliza Palmer	1876
1878/1987	Charles Flutey to Amelia Crane	1878
1878/2212	John Pratt to Sarah Palmer	1878
1879/2240	William Brown to Margaret Davis	1879
1881/453	Takana Manihera to Elizabeth Crane	1881
1883/2444	John Dickson to Martha Palmer	1883
1884/703	James Henry Palmer to Agnes Reid	1885
1885/809	James Tanner to Mary Bryant	1885
1886/1725	Joseph Crane to Charlotte Sherburd	1886
1886/1735	James Smith to Jane Brown	1886
1888/36/2617	James Liddell to Agnes Campbell	1888
1888/1812	Thomas Crane to Ellen Payne	1888
1889/41/764	George Brown to Helen McNaught	1889
1889/1501	Cornelius Johnson to Beatrice Palmer	1889
1890/665	Robert Stevenson to Sarah Overton	1890
1891/1839	James Smith to Emma Robson	1891
1892/769	George Adam to Emma Palmer	1892
1893/61/856	William Bryant to Fanny Horne	1893
1893/2809	Isaac Yorston to Jane Campbell	1893
1893/3451	Henry Martin to Rebecca Karetai	1893
1893/3739	John Stevenson to Mary Overton	1893
1893/3938	John Robinson to Caroline Overton	1893
1894/1719	Abraham Starkey to Annie Sherburd	1894

1895/1419	Joseph Crane to Jane Bryant	1895
1895/3781	David Given to Sarah Crane	1895
1895/3967	George Milward to Caroline Bryant	1895
1896/2094	Thomas Bryant to Maretta Robson	1896
1896/3112	Peter Sermous to Eliza Neil	1896
1897/3440	William Robertson to Sarah Sherburd	1897
1898/148/3512	John Wellman to Annie Campbell	1898
1898/3393	Thomas Garth to Elizabeth Mary Brown	1898
1899/3312	Stephen Bishop tp Alice Conlin	1899
1900/2397	William Sherburd to Sarah Mackie	1900
1900/5735	John Brown to Catherine M. V. Smith	1900
1902/3658	Percival Thomson to Ann Bishop	1902
1903/4619	John Drummond to Elizabeth Wellman	1903
1903/6685	Richard Crossan to Harriet Overton	1903
1904/6739	William R. Wellman to Sarah McIntosh	1904
1905/6896	Robert Bryant to Fanny Potiki	1905
1907/3825	James Cushnie to Elizabeth Ann Tanner	1907
1907/5770	Harold Hanna to Jessie Tanner	1907
1907/7903	John Walker to Mary Brown	1907
1907/8068	Charles Overton to Margaret Chalmers	1907
1908/1779	Frederick Crane to Hannah Palmer	1908
1909/2297	Alexander Smith to Betsy Brown	1909
1911/8227	John Russell to Alma Palmer	1911
1912/9127	August Annis to Caroline Flutey	1912
1912/5866	Joseph Joss to Lena Koruarua	1912
1913/8316	George Overton to Lucy Eggers	1913
1916/2094	Thomas Overton to Eva Carson	1916
1916/3452	Ernest Sherburd to Isabella Mackie	1916
1919/3799	Joseph Campbell to Evelyn Corsan	1919
1919/4565	George Wellman to Ethel Smith	1919
1920/1980	David Connell to Ngahui Brown	1920
1920/7628	Thomas Bryant to Mary Ann Bates	1920
1921/5446	John Cunningham to Mary Smith	1921
1921/8041	William Wellman to Elsie Rendall	1921
1921/10310	David Wilson to Dorothy Wellman	1921
1922/2188	Oliver Palmer to Mabel Sinclair	1922
1922/6161	Walter Dawson to Betsy Smith	1922
1923/2444	James Smith to Eliza Crane	1923
1923/2738	William Crane to Ellen Ryan	1923
1923/7321	Joseph A. Crane to Mary Lenz	1923
1923/8661	Arthur Dickson to Margaret Shaw	1923
1923/9865	Leonard Lopdell to Dora Stevenson	1923
1924/7668	Thomas Garth to Annie Sherburd	1924
1927/6183	James Dickson to Agnes Reid	1927
1928/2537	Robert Stevenson to Alice Moore	1928
1928/2879	James Wellman to Janet Quartley	1928
1928/3549	Duncan MacKay to Mary Ann Bryant	1928
1928/7510	Sherwin Garner to Margaret Wellman	1928
1933/9024	Richard Sparnon to Ida Kui Milward	1933
1936/481	John Sherburd to Barbara Adie	1936

1937/7276	Travis Brown to Mary O'Reilly	1937
1938/7739	Walter Brown to Isabella Williams	1938
1939/10148	James Reid to Eileen Milward	1939
1939/16888	Alexander Bryant to Edna Livingstone	1939
1940/1937	John Sherburd to Joyce Campbell	1940
1940/2745	William C. Wellman to Louise Grimmett	1940

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1621	Charles Flutey	1922
1679	Oriwia Paratene	1923
1877	Hohepa Teihoka	1934
2137	Teoti Edwin Matene	1941

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File 20/10: Maori Lands – Taieri Block.

Maps:

ML 26	Block XI, Clarendon, October 1881
ML 210	Tracing of Taieri Native Reserve from Topographical Sketch, Otokia District, (W. C. England), April 1860
ML 211	Taieri Native Reserve in the Province of Otago, New Zealand (D. A. MacLeod), July 1868
ML 212	Enlarged Map of the Kaika, Taieri Native Reserve (D. A. MacLeod), July 1868
ML 213	Plan of Sections 15, 16, 17, 18 Block B and part of Block C, Taieri Native Reserve (R. Hay), July 1884
ML 214	Block C, Taieri Block Native Reserve, (W. H. Hutcheson), June 1891
ML 215	Block A Taieri Native Reserve (G. M. Barr), November 1893
5667	Block VI Maungatua District (Lake Tatawai) Field Sketch, August 1900

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Wellington and Ikaroa Appellate Minute Book 6

Wellington and South Island Appellate Minute Book 4

Te Waipounamu Maori Land Court, Christchurch

South Island Minute Books, Vol. 41-55

Taieri Native Reserve Block Files:

Box 256:	Block C, Subdivision 1d, 3, 4, 5.
Box 257:	Taieri A20

- Box 258: Block B, Sections 11, 12, 13, 14, 15.
- Box 259: Block B, Sections 3, 4, 5, 6.
- Box 260: Block B, Sections 7, 8, 9, 10.
- Box 261: Block B, Sections 16, 17, 18 and Block C, Sections 1a, 1b, 1c, 2.
- Box 262: Block A, Sections 5, 10, 17, 18, 19a, 19b.
- Box 263: Block A, Sections 21, 22, 25, 26, 27, 28b, 31.

Clarendon Block Files:

- Box 36: Block XI, Sections (26, 27, 31, 32, 45, 46, 47), 28, 29, 30, 33, 36, 37

SILNA Block Files:

- Box 234: Rowallan Block 13, Sections 9 and 10. Block 14, Section 1.
- Box 240: Rowallan Block XII, Sections 1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8.
- Box 275: Tautuku Block X, Sections 1, 1b, 2, 3c, 23b.
- Box 316: Waikawa Block XVI, Sections 2, 5 part, 8a, 8b, 9, 1c, 1a, 1b, 1.

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